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SENTENCES FOR KOSOVO ALBANIAN STUDENTS VIEWED

AU081050 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Text] Tirana, 8 Jan (ATA) -- The campaign of "rendering accounts" with Albanians of Kosovo and other territories of Yugoslavia continues. As the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG reports, on January 6 the court of the district of Skopje condemned with heavy imprisonment, that goes up to 8 years, five students from Dibra of the faculty of natural sciences and mathematics of the University of Pristina. As in the previous trials hatched up by the Great-Serbs, even these five youngsters from 21 to 25 years were accused of "organization and participation in demonstrations".

Thus, the number of the Albanians living in their territories in Yugolsavia and sentenced with heavy imprisonment, according to the above mentioned agency, amounts to 209 people. But this number is larger. The Federal Deputy-Secretary of Home Affairs of Yugoslavia Drasko Jurisic himself was forced to admit this in an interview granted to the newspaper "SLOBODNA DALMACIJA" and which was released by TANJUG on January 3 this year. Boasting of the terror being exercised against the Albanians in Kosovo, this Great-Serb stated among others in his interview that the number of the Albanian inhabitants sentenced for their participation in the demonstrations amounts to 262 people, whereas 700 others have been sentenced for "violation". Further on he accepts that the investigations continue against 90 others Albanians that are kept in prisons.

Though in the conditions of a savage terror, the Albanians of Kosovo continue the struggle for their rights. TANJUG admits in a report on January 3 this year that slogans, leaflets and pamphlets are written in schools, work and production centres as well as other environments in Kosovo, which lay the stresses on the demand "Kosovo-Republic". Likewise it is reported that late in the evening of January 6 the students of the Nr. 1, 2, 3, 4 hostels and dormitories in the University of Pristina in Kosovo went on protest demonstrations. They appeared in the windows, balconies and entrances of the buildings singing songs and launching slogans against the persecution and national oppression.

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY COMMISSIONS CONVENED

AU072002 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] The commissions of the People's Assembly for industry, agriculture, and education and culture met to discuss the bills for the Seventh 5-Year Plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the years 1981-85, as well as the state plan for the development of the economy and culture and the state budget for 1982. After considering the relevant explanations given by the ministers in charge of the sectors concerned, the commissions defined their tasks in connection with the examination and approval of these bills at the Eighth Session of the Ninth Legislature of the People's Assembly. The commissions also analyzed the work carried out in 1981, and determined tasks for the current year.

POLITBURO MEMBERS ATTEND MEETING IN VLORE

AU052030 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 5 Jan 82

[Summary] The AWP Central Committee organized a national seminar on the problems of communal services in Vlore today. Taking part in the meeting were secretaries of the party committees from all districts, directors of mass organizations, cadres and specialists of enterprises of communal services, representatives of the departments and others. "Also present were comrades Hekuran Isai and Muho Asllani, Rrapo Dervishi, minister of communal economy, and others." Vlore district's was presented at the seminar as an example of the extension of communal services in the city and countryside and the expansion of the types of services available.

TODOR ZHIVKOV DELIVERS NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

AU052105 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Jan 82 p 1

[New Year's greetings address delivered by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the State Council, to the Bulgarian people, over Sofia Radio and Television on 31 January 1981]

[Text] Esteemed comrades,

Dear compatriots,

Once again it is time to rally around the festively decorated dinner table and to say farewell to the year that is ending, as well as to propose toasts with wishes for a peaceful, fruitful, successful and happy new year!

Our people will above all remember 1981 as the year of the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state. This was a year of a great patriotic upsurge inspired by the memories preserved in our hearts about the heroic deeds of our remote and close ancestors, as well as by the proud awareness that we are not only the contemporaries, but also the worthy creators and builders of socialist Bulgaria -- the highest stage of achievement in the long, 13 century-old history of our motherland.

We will remember 1981 as the year of the 12th BCP congress which assessed the achievements of the last decade since the adoption of the party program on the construction of a developed socialist society which mapped out our country's progress during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period and for the period up to 1990.

Now that we are taking leave of 1981 we gratefully assess the fact that this year is ending after fulfilling all the tasks assigned to it as the first year of the new 5-year plan period. The plans on the growth of industrial and agricultural production, on the growth of social labor productivity and on the increase of the national income have been fulfilled.

We are particularly gratified by the fact that -- despite the difficulties which the whole world is facing today, and which to one extent or another have reflected on our own economy -- we have not only succeeded in preventing a decrease in our people's living standard, but we have even ensured an increase in this standard.

The real incomes of the working people have increased. The supply of our population with goods and public services has improved. The party program on establishing medium-sized and small enterprises for the production of consumer goods is being successfully implemented. Substantial successes have been achieved in the policy of self-sufficiency. Auxiliary farms have been established in large enterprises, workshops for the production of consumer goods and daily life services as well as foodstuffs stores have been created there. The new economic mechanism is being introduced on a large scale, and as of 1 January 1982, the new economic mechanism is becoming valid in all sectors of our life.

Thus, opportunities are being created and prerequisites being established for a further increase in the working people's incomes, as well as for a more prompt supply of the population with a wide range of goods and services which are in great demand and for a further raising of the people's living standard.

Generally speaking, we can say that the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in overcoming all subjective and objective difficulties, under the leadership of its communist party, is successfully building a developed socialist society.

As a matter of fact, our development would have been more accelerated and more successful if it had proceeded in a favorable international, political and economic atmosphere. Unfortunately, as we all know, the international situation is difficult and full of complications. The economic crisis persists and unemployment is expanding in the capitalist countries. Trying to change the balance of forces to its own advantage, imperialism is planning and implementing unprecedented military programs and striving for a full-scale confrontation with the socialist countries.

Nevertheless, without deluding ourselves, we must admit that 1981 has marked an important victory for the peace-loving forces as well: the U.S. Government was forced to sit at the negotiating table with the Soviet Union.

It is too early to say something about the true intentions of the United States at the Geneva negotiations. However, regardless of the character of that country's intentions, we do not doubt that sooner or later genuine negotiations will take place for the prevention of the danger of thermonuclear war. As we have declared on numerous occasions, there is no alternative to peace in our time!

And for us, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, our stand and our policy in this stormy epoch are well known: Side by side with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, side by side with all progressive forces we will continue to devote our efforts to the cause of peace throughout the world, in Europe and in the Balkans. We will do so with sincere aspirations and with sincere good will. The development of our relations with Balkan states thus far fills us with optimism and gives us the strength to pursue with even greater perseverance our policy aimed at the transformation of the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons, as well as to pursue our policy of peace, good-neighborliness and cooperation.

Dear comrades,

The year that has ended once more and very convincingly confirms the fact that the strength of socialist Bulgaria lies in the strong cohesion between party and people. The BCP has no other interests and goals than those connected with the interests and goals of the working people in Bulgaria. Our people are well aware of this fact. In their daily working life and in celebrating their holidays, our people are again and again realizing this truth about our life and about their happy destinies. The Bulgarian people, with their loyalty and conscientiousness, with their trust and their affection for the party of Bulgarian communists, are inspiring the party and strengthening its self-confidence as a leader and fighter, they are strengthening the party's will to live, to struggle and to work for the people's cause, for its people's happiness.

At this moment, as we say farewell to the closing year--1981--we are greeting the new year and at this moment, precisely, I would like to express with emotion and pride the filial gratitude of the BCP Central Committee, of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the workers class, to the agricultural workers, to the people's intelligentsia and to all citizens of our country for their trust, for their support and for their heroic labor.

It is to you, dear comrades, that we turned for support and upon whom we relied in the past. We are now addressing you, the millions of creative workers and builders of socialist Bulgaria, we are turning to you and we are relying upon you, now that we are at the threshold of the new year--1982.

As it was in the past year and as happens in all countries where there is no exploitation of man by man, the new year will bring our people the results of their achievements created with the help of their minds, their talents and their efforts. There is no prospering nation, no strong and solid state, no happy individuals, without honest, blessed and creative labor efforts, and now in this first new year's message of greetings the first wish that we will address to each other will be a wish for peace, for health and success, for work, for peaceful and happy working efforts to each individual and to all of us.

Dear compatriots, I wish you a happy new year!

I propose a toast to you, to the happiness of your families, to the prosperity of the Bulgarian people, to the flourishing of socialist Bulgaria, to peace in the world and to the triumph of the noble communist ideals--cheers dear comrades, brothers and sisters!

U.S. 'DICTATORSHIP' OVER ALLIES CRITICIZED

AU071539 Sofia BTA in English 1540 GMT 7 Jan 82

[BTA observer T. Stoyanov report: "Dictating to Allies"]

[Text] Sofia, 7 Jan -- The events which started with the U.S. sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union have put to a test Washington's verbalistics on loyal partnership to the allies - a theme favoured greatly by the White House.

This verbalistics, however, almost came to nought after the Reagan-Schmidt dialogue. Once again the retreat of the West German chancellor in favor of the American version on the Polish events has become flagrantly obvious. What happened is very important, taking into consideration that Haig will be meeting his colleagues from the North Atlantic pact in an atmosphere predicting a new level of dictatorship against the allies.

Apparently the White House is determined to have a confrontation with the Soviet Union, a confrontation by all means. The dictatorship against its allies is a product of this policy. For the White House the "East-West" relations are derived from the "USA-USSR" relations. And when the main goal of Washington is deterioration of relations with Moscow then the ultimatum notes inevitably come to the fore in the tone towards Western Europe.

Washington looks at Moscow through the prism of confrontation, while the historical moment calls for seeing in it the principal participant in the dialogue for preservation of peace. That is why Washington's allies who tend to a more realistic approach are regarded by it as political sinners.

The position of the overseas top-crust is particularly dangerous. One sees through it the strategy of an adventurist sword measuring with socialism and this dooms the West Europeans to losing inevitably their specific place on the old continent, in the development of relations with the East, and makes them hostages to the dangerous cause of confrontation.

Solving the contradictions between capitalism and socialism by strength is madness under the present conditions. Adopted as a political postulate by Washington, it supposes, above all, breaking the West European will for perserving the dialogue with the East.

But humiliating Western Europe to a satellite of the American political thought will hardly be the only consequence. It certainly will be supplemented with others, even more unfavorable to it. Because this dictatorship, if accepted, would mean a slide-down to moves bordering not only on limiting further West Europe's role in the big politics, but leading to dangerous situations on the old continent.

BCP SENDS GREETINGS TO SOUTH AFRICAN PARTY

AU071921 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent a greetings telegram to the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the founding of this oldest mass political organization in the country. Since its founding, the telegram says, the African National Congress has waged an uncompromising struggle for defending the interests of the oppressed ethnic groups and social strata in the country. The Bulgarian communists again express their solidarity with the heroic struggle of the South African people against the racist regime of apartheid, and wish them heartfelt further successes in this just cause.

MILITARY EXERCISES TO BE HELD 25-30 JAN

LD071948 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] According to information issued by the Ministry of National Defense, a planned exercise of ground units and the air forces of the Czechoslovak People's Army, the Soviet Army and the Hungarian People's Army, called "Druzba 82" [Friendship 82] is to be held in the area of Litomerice, Liberec, Prague, Plzen and Karlovy Vary on 25-30 January. The purpose of the exercise is to test coordination between the commanders and units of the allied armies in winter conditions. Participating in the exercise will be armies with a total of 25,000 men.

POLISH DEPUTY PREMIER MADEJ ARRIVES 7 JAN

LD072100 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Zbigniew Madej, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic and chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission, arrived in Prague by air today.

WESTERN BEHAVIOR TOWARD POLAND CRITICIZED

Soviet Weekly Cited

LD071828 Prague CTK in English 1554 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan (CTK) -- Anger and wrath directly radiate from Western reports on the situation in Poland, with a desperate sigh that Poland is lost as the common denominator of all reports, the Soviet weekly LITERATURNAYA GAZETA wrote in its first issue this year. It added that the Western bourgeois press completely distorts the events in Poland.

The weekly's Swiss correspondent quoted Polish engineer Tadeusz, who is currently in Switzerland on a study stay, who accidentally got to know the leader of the association of Polish organizations in Switzerland, Alexandr Luczak, who had openly admitted that the scenario of the counter-revolutionary events in Poland was worked out personally by former U.S. presidential adviser for national security Zbigniew Brzezinski. Brzezinski had proposed to support leaders of the Committee for Social and Political Self-Defence and thus to get counter-revolutionary forces into power -- and if this failed, to provoke a civil war and accuse Poland's socialist friends of interference.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's Paris correspondent remarked that as long as "Solidarity" paved the way for counter-revolutionary forces seeking power, the West flooded Poland with economic aid. However, when its hopes collapsed aid ceased to come as well. Humanism and hypocrisy are incompatible, the correspondent wrote.

The weekly's New York correspondent added that when the U.S. administration had found that it was incapable of changing the situation in Poland, it decided to resort from verbal threats to practical steps and declared sanctions. All these measures disregard one important fact: that no nation will easily give up the right to defend its own sovereignty and social gains. This is what Washington forgot. But today's socialist Poland is a firm and resolute reminder, the correspondent said.

U.S. Aims Not European

LD080022 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Eva Sanderova commentary]

[Text] What is it all about, Poland or something else?

A commentary analyzing some of the actions made by the U.S. and Western Europe in the last few days seeks to answer this question.

The United States behavior toward Poland could be summed up in the proverbial phrase: If the Polish crisis did not exist it would have to be invented. Thousands of kilometers from the United States one country is introducing order in its own home. It is saving itself from burning in a flame of civil war. And far across the ocean the U.S. reacts as though their own roof is on fire. Furthermore, they pour oil on the fire instead of trying to help extinguish it. They do their utmost to make it possible for a limited Polish crisis to grow into a crisis among other states, among superpowers and into an international crisis. This is the basic meaning of everything now taking place in the U.S. in connection with Poland.

We can see how one threatening declaration follows another, how one American emissary after another flies to Western Europe, and how economic sanctions against Poland are followed by sanctions against the USSR. Why? Is this all about Poland, or is it about something else quite different?

It is obvious that the United States does not want to give up either its hopes for the renewal of capitalism in Poland or its hopes for the overthrow of military and political equilibrium in Europe. However, there are other aims and reasons in operation: The U.S. administration recently suffered a number of failures which made it change its tone on the international stage, to start to at least speak about peace, negotiations and reduction of arms instead of war. However, there are too many people in the new U.S. administration who are not happy about this, too many extremely rightwing and militaristic politicians who got into the government only because of the increase in international tension. They can live and exist in their high offices only in these conditions. They particularly took hold of the Polish events and saw their big opportunity in them, an opportunity to create artificially an international crisis where it did not exist.

Their foremost aim is to preserve the orientation toward feverish armament until the opening of the U.S.-USSR talks. Secondly, they would like to reunite the West European allies under U.S. leadership. As the Soviet daily PRAVDA says, they would like to drown the clashes in the Western alliance on important issues such as security, foreign policy and economy by creating a stir around Poland. In addition, they would like to prevent the growth of the antimilitary movement in Western Europe. And finally their third aim is not meaningless either: to avert Americans' attention from their own economic and social problems. None of these U.S. aims coincides with the West European countries' national interests.

We have a contradictory picture in front of us and one which, furthermore, gradually changes. During the first days of this week, the EEC ministers of foreign affairs convened to discuss Poland. The ministers acknowledged the United States sanctions against Poland and the USSR, but they did not mention the possibility of joining in the sanctions. This reflects their realistic understanding of [words indistinct]. At the same time, they threw themselves at Poland and its allies by agreeing with Washington's demands, with an entire set of instructions, warnings and threats prescribing how to behave in one's own country. In the course of only 2 days, the West German chancellor, Schmidt, submitted himself even more to U.S. pressure during his talks with President Reagan. Their joint declaration is full of rage over the hindered Western plans concerning Poland.

Anti-Soviet attacks and ultimatum-like conditions are made and effort is made to prescribe to Poland how and with whom it should put its internal affairs in order, in other words, the endeavor to change the Polish internal crisis into an international affair. A new pretext for increasing international tension to destroy the system of security created in Europe after World War II is shown again. And no one is in greater need of understanding that the current international situation is sufficiently dangerous without creating an artificial crisis than Western Europe. Care for the peaceful future of our continent ought to be the common care of all Europeans.

PRESS REPORTS ON, ANALYZES SITUATION IN POLAND

AU071432 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 5 January 1982 on page 7 carries a 1,300-word "CTK, JL"-signed Warsaw dispatch entitled "The PZPR's Role in the Normalization Process is Irreplaceable." The dispatch first notes the "calm entry" into the first work days of the new year in Poland and the resumption of teaching at Polish elementary and secondary schools. It then quotes a PAP report on the development of the Polish economy in 1981 and an announcement of the State Price Commission on the imminent "revision" of retail prices and the "financial compensation" connected with it. In this context, it also quotes an unspecified commentary by the "national workers' agency" on the major problems facing the Polish economy -- the restoration of balance between the money in circulation and the available merchandise, and the country's debts in the West.

Further on, the Warsaw dispatch quotes an undated speech by Gen Mieczyslaw Moczar devoted to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Polish Workers' Party, the predecessor of the PZPR; a ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI commentary on U.S. sanctions against Poland; an unspecified Polish television program on the "subversive activity" by leaders of the Independent Association of Polish Students and their links with "counterrevolutionary" emigre circles in France; and -- in great detail -- a 4 January TRYBUNA LUDU article by A. Pawlowska on the role and tasks of the PZPR in the present situation in Poland.

The Warsaw dispatch goes on to quote "JL's" unspecified interview partner at a Warsaw district party committee, according to whom "experienced workers, communists, are beginning to have a say in the primary organizations, which gives rise to justified hopes." The unnamed PZPR official refers to these communists as "the party's healthy core."

The dispatch also points to the establishment of "information centers" in various Polish enterprises where "workers are receiving answers to all kinds of questions." According to J. Jaras, chairman of the PZPR primary organization in the Warsaw Polfa enterprise, these centers enable the party to "regain trust and authority."

Summing up, the Warsaw dispatch notes that "a great deal has changed for the better in the past 3 weeks of the state of emergency. Despite all the existing difficulties and problems, there has been a noticeable revival of social production and a general calming down."

On the same page, Bratislava PRAVDA also carries a 550-word "UL"-signed article by the paper's special correspondent in Poland entitled "Children Were To Fight for Them; The 'Solidarity' Leaders' Disgraceful Program." The article deals with Solidarity's plans to "carry the struggle for seizing power in Poland into the schools." It first mentions documents found in the Gliwice Solidarity branch reportedly confirming such plans and quotes a Gliwice teacher on the "abuse" of schoolchildren by Solidarity for disseminating "antistate printed matter." The article then reviews Solidarity's demands for changes in the Polish schools' curriculum, paying special attention to the demand for "inviting persons to schools for talks and instruction according to the students' own decision" and for "abolishing instruction of the Russian language." It also describes another instance of "abuse of schoolchildren in the struggle for political power" -- the organization of "open doors afternoons" in Solidarity's Katowice headquarters on Stalmach Street. "Under the condition that they will first distribute in designated streets leaflets and printed matter of KOR or the Confederation for an Independent Poland," children were reportedly given their pins, posters and even some money. The article quotes an interview with the Katowice mayor, Edward Mecha, according to whom "children will continue coming to Stalmach Street" because the former Solidarity building will become a kindergarten.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 6 January 1982 on page 7 carries a 400-word CTK Warsaw dispatch entitled "To Forestall Subsersive Activities at the Polish People's Republic's Universities."

The dispatch, based on Polish sources, reports on the decision of the Military Council of National Salvation to resume instruction at Polish universities by mid-February; on the disbandment of the Independent Association of Polish Students by the decision of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology; on talks with unspecified "representatives of Polish trade unions" held at the Polish Ministry of Trade Union Affairs; on the partial resumption of domestic air traffic on 8 January; and on the trial of Maciej Szczepanski and other members of the former leadership of the Polish Committee for Radio and Television Affairs.

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 650-word article by its Warsaw correspondent Jan Lipavsky entitled "What Was the Nature of the So-Called Independent Association of Students?" dealing with the motives that have led to the disbandment of the Independent Association of Polish Students. The article recapitulates various "demonstration, provocative strikes and marches" in Poland organized or assisted by members of the organization. It stresses the organization's links with Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, its "aggressive" nature, and its "clearly political demands" aimed at "breaking up the political and ideological basis of higher education." Speaking about the organization's program, the article also notes its "attacks on the International Student Union and clear orientation toward Trotskyite and extreme rightwing student organizations." The article also deals with the Independent Student Association's activities following the imposition of the state of emergency, quoting a ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI article on its preparations for sit-in strikes, publication of leaflets calling for a general strike, and the "emergence of a concept to organize a secret military organization, whose members were to possess weapons and to take part in future armed actions." It also notes the "unusual quantity of antisocialist and anti-Soviet literature" reportedly found in the organization's headquarters, next to "documents about espionage activity by members of the organization's leadership and their permanent links with Polish reaction in the West."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 6 January 1982 on page 6 carries the first of a series of articles by Pavol Minarik, the paper's Warsaw correspondent who recently returned from Poland. According to Bratislava PRAVDA, his articles will be devoted to "the most important events in the second half of December 1981 and to facts that have surfaced following the imposition of the state of emergency." The first installment of the series, a 1,200-word article entitled "Behind the Walls of the 'Solidarity' Mazowsze Branch," deals with the documents reportedly found in the Solidarity Mazowsze headquarters on Mokotowska Street in Warsaw. Minarik first reviews the activities of the Solidarity Mazowsze branch -- which is said to have had "one of the most reactionary leaderships in the entire 'Solidarity'" -- prior to 13 December 1981. He refers in this context to the regional organization's defense of the "antistate activity by miscellaneous extremist forces" such as KOR or the Confederation for an Independent Poland; to the "strike adventures" organized by the organization's leaders Bujak and Jaworski; to the publication of instructions, leaflets and posters "paid for by Western subversive centers" and the sale of "illegal, uncensored publications"; and to the organization's unclear financial dealings. He then turns to the "documents" reportedly found in the organization's headquarters following the declaration of the state of emergency, documents that are said to contain "specific forms of counterrevolutionary struggle." Going into detail, Minarik says: "Counterrevolution in Poland was to have the following three stages: 1. propaganda activity, acts of sabotage and subversive, terrorist acts; 2. guerrilla war; 3. a nationwide uprising. The forms of armed struggle were to include terror, assaults, assassinations, abductions and acts of sabotage. In the event of the security forces' intervention, barricades were to be erected, streets were to be dug up, and houses set on fire. 'Solidarity' planned to 'eliminate' -- in a lightning maneuver -- security and army patrols. Security units were to be disarmed and commanders treated like criminals." Speaking about the guidelines found in the Mazowsze Solidarity headquarters, Minarik also refers to the planned establishment of "workers' patrols," saying that "in reality, these were to be armed terrorist groups." It was only due to the "Polish Army's resolute resistance to all adventurous, antistate and antisocialist acts," Minarik says in conclusion, that Solidarity was not able to use them against Polish workers.

CZECHOSLOVAK REACTION TO POLISH EVENTS VIEWED

PM071603 Paris FRANCE-SOIR in French 30 Dec 81 p 2

[Francois Luizet dispatch: "When Young Czechs Dream of Having Their Own Walesa"]

[Excerpt] Prague -- "Poland Will Conquer." This slogan, in Czech, has been hurriedly written with a felt pen on staircases of several big blocks in the suburbs of Prague. Some swaggering, long-haired youths come furtively after nightfall to look at these brave and anonymous inscriptions. This is just one way among many of demonstrating, when you are 16, your support for the Polish people and your hostility to the military. It is also a way of diffidently restoring bonds with the past.

Who still remembers Jan Palach's sacrifice? Flowers are seldom laid on his grave in the small rural cemetary some 40 km from the capital, whereas a few days ago some 100 young people gathered to pay tribute to John Lennon on the first anniversary of the artist's assassination. "We are all Dubceks, arrest us," was one of the slogans shouted by the young people of Prague during the week in August 1968 when Czechoslovakia's future was in the balance.

Today, like Dubcek, a retiring manager of a viticultural enterprise in Bratislava, who refuses to make any statements, especially with respect to Poland, all the Czech people are apparently suffering from amnesia.

Nonetheless, people are not unconcerned about the events in Poland, even though feelings are mixed. Suzanna, 30, a Russian translator at the university, believes that "The Polish people are unlucky. Their setback is rather similar to the setback we suffered 13 years ago." Jan, 35, who belonged to the "Charter group, feels "compassion for what is happening in Poland." And yet he recalls that there is no real congeniality between the Czechs and the Poles either psychologically or traditionally.

He said: "We have not forgotten that Warsaw intervened with the Russians in 1968 and that even back in 1938-1939, as a result of an agreement with Hitler, some units of the Polish Army occupied Northern Moravia." Jaroslav admitted: "We were a little envious of what was occurring in Poland recently. Was Poland to succeed where we failed 13 years ago? We were aware that because of Poland the economic situation was deteriorating in all CEMA countries."

As for a professor, he feels reassured because, as RUDE PRAVO, the Communist Party's daily newspaper, explains, "No appeal for external help has been made, and the Poles are resolving their problems among themselves."

But it is among young secondary school pupils and apprentices that most sympathy with Poland can be found. University students, that is young people over 20, remain silent. They have already planned for their future as privileged people and Communist Party members, with a country house at 35, a Tatra luxury automobile at 40 and visits abroad -- a life of luxury reserved here, as in the USSR, for the "upper crust" which is the "nomenklatura." Those who wrote on the walls in Ostrava Region, not far from the Polish border, "Yes to a Czech Lech Walesa" were certainly under 20.

Exile

"We will never again dig up the cobblestones in Vaclav Square." As far as this 40-year old professor is concerned, the chapter has been closed, for good. Exile represents our only hope to "extricate ourselves from the position of inferior beings in which communism keeps us," he said, unless everything is suddenly overturned by the young people who, as in the West, are being increasingly affected by pacifism.

THREE NEW CHARTER 77 SPOKESMEN APPOINTED

NC072013 Paris AFP in English 1959 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Prague, 7 Jan (AFP) -- Three new spokesmen for the "Charter 77" civil rights group were appointed here today and their first public action was to denounce events in Poland since the military takeover, according to a communique received by Western correspondents.

Charter 77 leaders were officially warned after the state of siege was declared in Poland that to speak out on the issue would be considered "subversive action."

The new spokesmen are Ladislav Lis, aged 55, a former communist leader who organized the clandestine Czechoslovak party congress at Vysocany on August 22, 1968, immediately after the Warsaw Pact invasion; Radim Palus, aged 57, a Roman Catholic philosopher, and Anna Marvanova, aged 60, a former journalist.

They replace Bedrich Placak, Vaclav Maly, and Jaroslav Sabata, who held the spokesman position for a year.

The new spokesmen said in their statement: "The abolition of liberties, internment without trial, bloodshed, and the loss of trade union rights do not supply any solution in Poland and accentuate international tension."

Charter 77, the communique said, has always rejected solutions by military and other means of force.

But it expressed hope that "it will be possible to opt in Poland for a path where there will be neither victors nor vanquished, enabling the deep wounds to be eliminated and the renewal to be continued."

Meanwhile, the Prague appeal court today confirmed the sentence of three years' imprisonment and two years' internal exile passed last October on Jan Litomisky, a Charter 77 signatory, for his activities in the "Committee for the Defence of the Unjustly Persecuted" (VONS), a VONS source said.

Mr Litomisky, a 38-year-old agricultural engineer, was arrested last February. He was accused of holding VONS meetings at his home, of issuing VONS communiques, and of organising unauthorised classes in philosophy and theology.

TRIBUNA SCORES 'SPECIAL PATH TO SOCIALISM'

AU061648 Prague TRIBUNA No 51 in Czech 23 Dec 81 pp 8, 9

[Third part of article by Karel Horak: "Who Is Served by the Theory on So-Called Pluralism of Marxism?"]

[Excerpts] All the theories spread by revisionists and bourgeois ideologists show, like a red line running through them, the endeavor to discredit real socialism and to belittle and depreciate Leninism and the CPSU's experience, by pushing into the foreground revisionist window dressing instead of the creative, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

The authors of these theories exert great efforts to "prove" what cannot be proved: "that the CPSU's experience is valueless for the workers class in developed capitalist countries, and that its implementation in the countries of real socialism leads to shortcomings, crises and lags, that it disrupts the sovereignty of these countries, and so forth.

They consciously conceal that the utilization of the Soviet communists' experience does not mean an application of some kind of rigid pattern or the acceptance of ready-made instructions and their mechanical transportation to different conditions.

The building of socialism in our country, as well as in other states of the socialist community, has convincingly shown that the creative utilization of the CPSU's experience in realizing the general laws [on building socialism] is of invaluable assistance and is a lasting source of information for every Marxist-Leninist party. It was confirmed quite unambiguously that the utilization of the Soviet communists' experience does not contradict respecting the specific conditions of any country; neither does it restrict the independence of individual parties and socialist states, as the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda claim. What does contradict the interests of socialism and the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is the rejection of the CPSU's experience, which always goes hand in hand with the rejection of the general laws governing socialist construction. Both the CPCZ's experience, acquired during the critical years, and the developments in the Polish People's Republic in the past few months graphically show that it is part and parcel of the activities of counter-revolutionary forces -- regardless of the shape they take -- to discredit the Soviet Union's experience and to evoke anti-Soviet moods.

Anti-Sovietism always was, and is, the tool used by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists for attacking the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement and the countries of the socialist community -- for attacking the friendship and alliance of socialist countries and progressive forces with the Soviet Union. Part and parcel of this campaign are the slogans on the national specifics of individual countries, on the independence and sovereignty of Marxist-Leninist parties which are, allegedly, being disrupted by the utilization of the CPSU's experience and the implementation of general laws governing the socialist revolution and construction. And, as always, the bourgeois ideology -- with the active assistance of revisionists -- offers the communist parties and socialist countries a "solution." In order to be "independent" and "sovereign," in order to respect the "national specifics," they should adopt one of the "new" Marxist theories or models of socialism. Where this path leads was tellingly shown by the critical years in Czechoslovakia, as well as by the developments during the past few months in the Polish People's Republic.

This is also proved by the stands adopted by the representatives of so-called Eurocommunism on the measures adopted by the bodies of the Polish People's Republic in the fight against antisocialist forces. The resolute action against the attempt at a counterrevolutionary reversal of the situation -- the proclamation of a state of emergency in Poland -- was called, for instance by the leadership of the Italian Communist Party, [PCI], a "blow delivered to the attempts to solve the Polish crisis politically, with the participation of all strata of society, through a process of true democratization." This is how far one can go in extolling some kind of special path to socialism and the nonclass understanding of democracy in "Eurocommunist" interpretation. In a situation where the very foundations of socialism are threatened, when antisocialist forces have prepared a bloody settling of accounts with socialism and with the people who remain loyal to it, the PCI leadership condemns the action against the counterrevolution and for the defense of socialism and its achievements, recommending some kind of "open debate in the interests of achieving an all-national accord without the use of force... the renewal of the dialogue in which all components could have the opportunity to express their stand and to act with absolute freedom."

Once again it was confirmed that, by rejecting the so-called Soviet model of socialism (that is, real socialism) and by presenting the principles of democracy, understood in a nonclass way, as absolute, the "Eurocommunists" adopt stances similar to those adopted by the most reactionary circles of imperialism. The developments in Poland have shown most markedly where the political practices promoted by them -- some kind of absolute freedom, the pluralism of the political system, the democratization of real socialism and so forth -- can lead.

Both the practice of building socialism and the entire history of the international communist movement have shown quite unambigously that the national specifics of individual countries, the peculiarities stemming from different historical development, and the parties' independence must not be presented as opposed to the general laws governing the socialist revolution and construction.

A withdrawal from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, or its revision, must not be presented as the emergence of new forms or variants of Marxism. There has always been, there is now, and will be in the future only one Marxism-Leninism; it was and is a comprehensive international doctrine.

RUDE PRAVO CRITICIZES EEC'S BRUSSELS RESOLUTION

AU071513 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jan 82 p 7

[Commentary by Zdenek Porybny in the column "We Comment": "Pressure on Western Europe"]

[Text] Monday's extraordinary session of the foreign ministers of 10 EEC countries was exclusively devoted to the internal affairs of a sovereign country -- the Polish People's Republic. This fact alone is inadmissible in international relations. Moreover, it also contradicts the commitment these countries undertook 5 years ago, when they signed the CSCE Final Act in Helsinki, which quite unamibiguously decrees that the signatory countries will refrain from "all and any interference in the internal or external affairs falling under the jurisdiction of another participating state."

It is a paradox, to say the least, that in their concluding declaration the ministers of EEC countries do not hesitate to seek cover exactly by pointing to the Helsinki Final Act. It is becoming clear that in this respect they have adopted the arrogant manners of the American Government, which believes that it can shape the world to its own image. This is indisputably an alarming element in relations between the European states, one which would signify -- if it should become a general practice -- a threat to the entire structure of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems in Europe, a structure built up precisely on the foundations of the Final Act.

The EEC countries had assembled to work out a joint stand not only on the situation in the Polish People's Republic, but also on the pressure with which the United States wants to force them to declare "economic sanctions" against Poland, and also against the Soviet Union. The deliberations of the EEC countries' foreign ministers were characterized by an approach that can be proverbially said to aim at "keeping the goat safe, and the wolf fed." In the present instance the "wolf" is the United States, and the "goat" the economic and other advantages following for the West European countries from trade with the socialist countries, and the Soviet Union in the first place. And this is also reflected in the final communique.

Although the West European 10 have declared, on the one hand, that they do not intend to join the economic "sanctions" imposed by the United States on Poland and the Soviet Union. they simultaneously expressed so many reservations to the Polish Government's policy, so many conditions for maintaining the current economic cooperation with the Polish People's Republic and the USSR, that they thus opened for themselves a back door for possible absolute obedience to the Washington diktat.

It has become obvious that the gross pressure exerted by the United States on West European governments has yielded certain results with some of them. The FINANCIAL TIMES, a British paper, assessed the EEC's deliberations by voicing the expectation that the West European countries would perhaps introduce "economic sactions" against the Polish People's Republic in the future. On the other hand, the DAILY TELEGRAPH judges that, actually, the mere EEC promise not to undermine the American sanctions on any account is sufficient.

However, even this seems too negligible to certain West European circles. The French paper LE MATIN DE PARIS, close to the ruling Socialist Party, criticizes the EEC countries' anti-Polish and anti-Soviet stands as "too mild."

Here we no longer have a matter concerning Poland, a meddling in its internal affairs; we have here an attempt to revert to the bankrupt militant policy of "rolling back communism." The truth of this was confessed by the DAILY TELEGRAPH, previously quoted, which voiced the demand that the West should work out a strategy for a similar disintegration of the entire socialist community. Economic cooperation on the condition that the socialist countries leave free scope for the activities of antisocialist elements -- this is obviously to be a substantial part of this strategy.

Washington is not playing a clean game with its West European allies. It is using them as pawns in its great-power game, which is aimed at consolidating its own leading position in the capitalist world and at creating conditions for acquiring supremacy in world affairs. And all this even at the price of putting an end to the policy of detente and peaceful cooperation in the world, and in Europe in particular.

The conflicts which cropped up among the EEC countries during the Brussels deliberations indicate that, obviously, certain West European countries do realize this, and are averse to simply throwing overboard all the positive things that had been achieved in Europe in the past few years.

TOURISM PROBLEMS WITH CEMA NEIGHBORS DISCUSSED

AU052144 [Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 3 January on page 4 carries a 1,000-word interview given by Eng Miroslav Marousek, head of a secretariat at the CSSR Government Tourism Committee, to Jiri Jares. The interview, entitled "In Pursuit of Knowledge and Recreation," is devoted to the "prospects" of Czechoslovak citizens' trips abroad.

In the interview, Marousek first reviews the 1981 tourist season. He notes that it was characterized by a "noticeable shift in the direction of domestic tourism" and attributes this to the "unfavorable impact of the present economic development, especially in the area of energy." Nevertheless, Marousek goes on to say, "last year about the same number of citizens left the CSSR for abroad as in the preceding years, which is between 9 and 10 million, 20 percent of them for prolonged recreational trips." Even though the Czechoslovak tourists' "main interest" focused on socialist countries, according to Marousek, the number of Czechoslovak citizens traveling to nonsocialist countries remained "practically the same" as in the preceding years.

In his reply to the following question, Marousek discusses the problem of short trips to Czechoslovakia's socialist neighbor countries. He says in this context: "The GDR, Hungary and Poland are visited annually by 7-8 million of our tourists, which is 75 percent of all our citizens who travel abroad, for a period ranging between 1 and 3 days. Last year, as a result of the complicated domestic political situation in the Polish People's Republic, there was a considerable decline in tourist interest in this country. The interest in Hungary, on the other hand, increased. A bilateral problem of those trips is, in particular, that instead of acquiring knowledge, the main purpose of such trips is sometimes shopping. After all, it is not tourism when a bus tour officially visits the Zwinger in Dresden but most of the participants visit only the nearest department store. Similar practices seriously disrupt not only domestic markets but also good internationalist relations among people. A number of problematic financial and customs questions connected with tourism exist, for example, also between us and the Hungarian People's Republic and the pertinent bodies must deal with them."

Speaking in his concluding statement about the conditions for tourism in 1982, Marousek notes that "there will not be any substantial changes" and that preference will be given to "organized and prolonged-stay forms of tourism." He then reviews the expanded offer of organized tours to the Soviet Union and, regarding nonsocialist countries, the addition of Malta and Majorca to the Czechoslovak travel agencies' program. He also reports that "in furnishing our citizens with financial means for private travel to nonsocialist states and Yugoslavia, the State Bank will proceed as it did last year."

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 3 January on page 2 carries a 600-word interview given by Sandor Pocsik, director of the Hungarian Ibusz travel agency's office in the CSSR, to Libor Sevcik, led "With Travel Agencies to the Hungarian People's Republic." The interview, in which Pocsik outlines the program of organized tours to Hungary available to Czechoslovak tourists, is preceded by the following passage: "The system governing our trips to our southern neighbors in Hungary this year has still not been resolved with absolute clarity, despite complicated negotiations. One thing is certain, however. The allocation of forints to travel agencies and thus for organized tourism has been ensured.

JAKES ATTENDS ENTERPRISE MEETING IN TRINEC

LD080032 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Excerpt] Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, took part in a seminar in Trinec today for directors, chairmen of enterprises committees and of basic organizations of the CPCZ of the most important industrial enterprises of the North Moravia Region.

RUDE PRAVO VIEWS SKIER'S EXCLUSION FROM TEAM

AU071912 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jan 82 p 8

["(BAN)"-signed article: "Again About Zeman"]

[Text] In yesterday's RUDE PRAVO, we carried a CTK report entitled "Will Zeman Be Given the Opportunity?" discussing Bohumir Zeman's exclusion from the CSSR's skiing team.

The author of the article defends Zeman, writing among other things: "...It is to be believed that Zeman's appeal against the harsh verdict of the skiing union committee's Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Education will be dealt with objectively and without emotion, and that Zeman will be given the opportunity to benefit from his year-long training for the world chapionships, and prove directly on the slalom courses his sports and moral qualities."

Because the original report merely staed that Bohumir Zeman had been expelled from the team for a gross violation of discipline, it is necessary to clarify what the Czechoslovak representative had actually done.

"Bohumir Zeman did not want to abide by the program approved by the subcommission of the downhill skiing run and pushed for his starting in other races. In the restaurant of a hotel abroad, he physically attacked Vlastimil Horak, trainer of the Czechoslovak downhill skiers," Pavel Zelenka, central authority on high-caliber skiing and chairman of the subcommission of downhill skiing disciplines, stated. "When the offense was being discussed, Zeman showed an arrogant manner and a lack of self-criticism. This, too, was one of the reasons why such a harsh punishment was suggested for him."

For years Bohumir Zeman has been our best downhill skier. He knew how to hold his own even against the strongest world competition, and had achieved a number of successes in the World Cup. But this is no reason for him not to behave, and not to act abroad in the manner expected from a CSSR representative. It is difficult ot excuse him for his extemporaneous speech in front of many foreign skiers and trainers.

SCHMIDT-REAGAN POLISH TALKS CAUSE CONCERN

LD072312 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1754 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Bonn, 7 Jan (ADN) -- We do not want to take part in guessing whether there are winners and losers in the recent meeting in Washington. The matter is too serious for that. It is also totally uninteresting in view of the fact that there is much more at stake than questions of prestige. After all, everyone who carries responsibility is really under obligation to do or not to do everything in order to avoid the danger of a nuclear inferno. The interesting question is therefore: Has the meeting between Helmut Schmidt and Ronald Reagan contributed to this? It is difficult at present to make a balanced judgement on this. Reports on the meeting are very contradictory. They range from the declaration of Foreign Minister Genscher at the FDP's Epiphany meeting that the FRG is not willing to allow the Polish tragedy to turn into cold war, to the impudent demand made of the Polish authorities to open all doors to chaos again.

In view of these facts, one racks one's brains to discover what this virulent anti-Polish campaign in the FRG has to do with the much vaunted circumspection with which Bonn likes to pride itself at present. Even the editor of STERN, Henri Nannen, writes in the leading article of the magazine's most recent issue: "I am sick of the hypocrisy as regards Poland." One can only agree, particularly as the three demands of the EEC foreign ministers in Brussels, which are described here as a contribution by the Bundestag and the Federal Government to the Western policy toward Poland, are nothing but blatant interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. In the view of influential mass media here, the Poles should damn well do what NATO demands of them."

The spokesman of this crude policy of interference cannot still think that they will be praised for this stance toward a sovereign country after the meetings of Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt with Leonid Brezhnev, Erich Honecker and Ronald Reagan.

In view of the fact that in the eventful history of German states their rulers were not covered with honor in relations with Poland, one has to ask from where federal Germans get the right to speak in such terms about Poland as they are doing at present. They should blush with shame, in view of German-Polish history, to speak of People's Poland in language reminiscent of a protectorate. There is no doubt General Jaruzelski had to impose martial law, in accordance with the Polish Constitution, at 5 minutes to midnight in order to give the future of the Polish people a chance. One and a half years of rule by Solidarity threatened everything which Poland had built up over three decades after World War II. Nor is this denied by influential circles in the FRG capital. Rightly, Mr Nannen asks the question in his already mentioned leading article what would happen in the FRG if such a situation came about in the FRG as happened on 13 December 1981 in Poland. "Do you know," he writes, "what would happen then? You can read about it in the treaty on the relations between the FRG and the three (Western) powers, of 26 May 1952, which deals with the rights reserved by the allies in Article 2 and with the state of emergency in Article 5. According to this, the Federal Government would have to initially use the police in a "serious disturbance of public security and peace" and if it could not master the situation by these means and if in addition the armed forces of the Western allies were endangered "in the view of the three powers," then the military commanders of Great Britain, France and the United States could "take the necessary protective measures (including the use of arms) to eliminate the danger."

FRANCE-SOIR REPORTS 'PRUSSIAN' VIEW OF POLAND

PM071617 Paris FRANCE-SOIR in French 29 Dec 81 p 2

[Francois Luizet dispatch: "GDR Prussians Denounce Polish Rabble"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin -- Apart from these few isolated demonstrations of sympathy, the GDR has remained intransigent as regards the events in Poland.

There is virtually no danger of contagion. Why, a Berlin professor explains: "The Prussians have a congenital contempt for the Poles which 40 years of communism has not managed to extirpate. It must be said that our neighbors' example is not edifying. They do not care about us. They go on strike and we have to feed them. Their productivity is half ours. We need Silesian coal and iron to run our factories. That is why order must be reestablished in Poland as soon as possible."

Regrettable

One diplomat went to greater lengths to justify the indifference of the East Germans: "There was a great deal of talk about the German miracle a few years ago: the West German one. Here, a second German miracle is taking place: The East German one. After the war the GDR was naked, stripped of everything. The Soviets had dismantled and taken away factories which they promptly assembled in their country, thereby acquiring turnkey factories."

Having lost the Ruhr and Silesia, all the GDR had left was its gray matter and sense of organization. It therefore got down to work. The result is that this country of 18 million inhabitants is today the 10th industrial power in the world.

Assiduous, punctual and efficient, the GDR Prussians have a horror of what a doctor, citing De Gaulle, calls "the rabble." He admits: "The Poles won some advantages. By persisting they lost everything."

Buying an airplane ticket from INTERFLUG, the East German airline, on Monday, I discovered that the employee who gave the my ticket listened to the BBC, which was giving detailed information in its news bulletins on the massacres of miners by the Polish Army.

I questioned her. She replied: "The same thing was already being said on West German television yesterday evening. It may be true. It's regrettable. But the Poles really must understand that they have to get back down to work. That does not stop me from putting together food parcels for them."

Since martial law was imposed in Poland, a fantastic wave of humanitarian feeling has swept the GDR. Pioneers and teachers have been mobilized to collect parcels. Everything is being orchestrated by the media. Last week the newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND devoted three whole pages to this food aid for Poland campaign. As many as to Brezhnev's 75th birthday.

If East German media insist that the Polish crisis must be solved by the Poles alone, it is because leaders here known very well that the economic boom in their country will not withstand intervention in Poland by Warsaw Pact troops.

Between 26 and 28 percent of the GDR's foreign trade is with the West. It hopes to raise that figure to 30 percent soon. Its major trading partners are the FRG, France and Sweden.

Intervention by the GDR is certainly still possible. It would put an end to its economic ambitions. Besides, any intervention by that country would require no lengthy preparations. The Polish frontier is 80 km from Berlin. Three perfectly clear freeways lead to it. Szczecin, Poznan and Wroclaw are an hour's journey from here.

"Our indifference to what is happening in Poland is perfectly justifiable," the professor with whom I was talking also told me. "We are communists. But look over the wall, at our cousins, the capitalists of the West. In October, 25,000 of them demonstrated against Haig. There has been no demonstration as yet against martial law in Poland."

CITIZENS' POLISH AID COLLECTIONS CONTINUE

5 Jan Report

AU071437 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jan 82 p 2

[ADN/ND dispatch: "Citizens From All Strata Show Solidarity With People's Poland: Donations Confirm Internationalist Affinity"]

[Summary] "Berlin (ADN/ND) -- Collectives and citizens from all GDR bezirke are confirming their solidarity with the Polish neighboring people also in the new year with further donations to the special account No 555 at the Berlin postal savings office."

The working people of the Wismut industrial sector contributed M213,000, those of the Zella Mehlis VEB robotron electronics enterprise M10,000: the workers of the Neubrandenburg Kreis enterprise for agricultural technical equipment M5,000 and the crew of the Schwarze Pumpe gascombine parent works paid M65,000 into the solidarity account. Residents of the Saal Kreis in Helle Bezirk gave M40,000 and craftsmen of Potsdam Bezirk contributed more than M50,000 to the donation drive.

Solidarity donations were also received from staff workers of the institute of geophysics of the GDR Academy of Sciences in Potsdam, from branches of the Democratic Women's League all over the GDR and from former fighters in Spain and from other organizations.

6 Jan Report

AU071417 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jan 82 p 2

[Summary] Berlin (ADN/ND) -- GDR citizens continue their solidarity aid to Poland by making various donations to the special account. The working people of the enterprises of the Dresden-Nord industrial area contributed M53,000 and the Cottbus textile and ready-made clothing enterprise M3,600. Cooperative farmers from the Altentreptow Kreis contributed M3,500 and workers of the Pasewalk VEB Getreidewirtschaft M5,000. Numerous sportsmen and sport clubs have also made contributions to the special account; the members of the Society for Sport and Technology contributed M7,700.

HORIZONT INTERVIEWS SED POLITBURO MEMBER AXEN

AU051515 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No 1/1982 pp 3,4

[Unattributed interview with Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on the conference of communist and workers parties about the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM: "Orientation Toward Most Important Problems of the Present" -- date and place not given]

[Text] HORIZONT: You participated as the leader of the SED delegation in the conference of communist and workers parties in Prague from 24-27 November. What was the occasion of the meeting?

Herman Axen: Regularly every 3 to 4 years conferences of the communist and workers parties are held to discuss the activity of the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. On the agenda were the report of the Board of Editors and of the Editorial Council for the period since the preceding conference in April 1977, which had been submitted to the delegations in writing.

The journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM constitutes a unique connecting link of the international communist and workers movement. It is a theoretical organ and an organ of information, and serves as a platform for the discussion of communists, of the revolutionary forces in the world.

The journal conveys new experiences and findings of the international communist and workers movement and generalizes them. PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is the political journal with the largest circulation in the world. It is being disseminated today in 145 countries in 66 editions and in 37 languages -- that is 16 editions and 5 languages more than in 1977. All this underscores that the journal is increasingly gaining significance for the struggle of the individual parties and for their collaboration.

HORIZONT: Where do you see the significance of this so comprehensive international meeting at the present moment.

Hermann Axen: Great political importance attaches to the Prague conference particularly because it provided an opportunity for making a precise evaluation of the topical, tense international situation, and for providing an orientation toward the most important common tasks of the present. Almost all speakers regarded this as the main concern in their participation and statements. If the fact is taken into consideration that peoples in all countries find themselves exposed to acute threats as a result of the confrontation course and the stepped-up armament of the most aggressive imperialist circles, it is understandable that the explanations and proposals of the representatives from the countries of the socialist community for preserving and securing peace elicited particular attention at the conference.

This is why the participants paid great attention to the statements of Comrade B. Ponomarev, leader of the CPSU delegation. All the more so because the conference took place in the light of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's visit to the FRG concluded 1 day earlier.

HORIZONT: What can be said about the activity of our party delegation?

Hermann Axen: Many fraternal parties underscored that the contribution of the SED delegation was of valuable assistance in orienting them in their struggle and a convincing argument. Proceeding from the decisions of the 10th party congress and from Erich Honecker's statements at the third Central Committee session, we pointed out, in part: The qualitative exacerbation of both external and internal crisis processes has initiated a new stage of the general crisis of capitalism, which constitutes the main cause for the transition of U.S. imperialism to a course of confrontation and hence to an exacerbation of the international class struggle. The confrontation policy of the United States and its allies, planned on a long-term basis, worsens the international situation. NATO steps up the material and ideological preparations for war. The aspiration of U.S. imperialism to achieve a military strategic superiority over the USSR, and thus to regain world supremacy, is pushing all the internal and external contradictions and contrasts to a climax. But the imperialist powers can only pursue the stepped up armament connected with this primary objective, and the aspired technological breakthrough on a broad line, if they radically reduce the working people's social standard of life.

The plan to achieve military strategic superiority over the Soviet Union is unrealistic. But precisely because of this, the miscalculation is all the more dangerous.

Recently it has also become clearly visible, however, that the intensified confrontation course of the United States is running up against serious obstacles, against limits. This confrontation course is opposed by the growing might of the Soviet Union, of the socialist community. The peace program announced by the 26th CPSU Congress and supported by the 10th SED Congress, has a worldwide impact and gives the peace forces a clearcut orientation. There has never been such a powerful upswing of the mass movement for peace in the capitalist countries.

The stormy growth of the peace movement in numerous capitalist countries compels the reactionary imperialist forces to maneuver. They are striving by means of various and often coordinated maneuvers to divert the peace movement, to defame it, to break it up and -- if it depended on them -- to make it subservient to their own NATO objectives.

HORIZONT: How do these maneuvers show?

Hermann Axen: One of the maneuvers of the NATO powers to deflect attention from the problems of military detente consists of erecting insurmountable obstacles and prerequisites to the East-West dialogue and to negotiations on arms limitations by means of baiting in connection with the problems of Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Poland, as well as with the demand for "good conduct" on the part of the Soviet Union in the developing countries.

The opening of negotiations between the USSR and the United States in late November shows the increasing failure of this imperialist blackmailing attempt.

The Reagan administration now first and foremost focuses its efforts on negatively influencing the negotiations on medium-range missiles, agreed upon with the Soviet Union, or on causing their failure by leveling unrealistic demands.

It is in the spirit of psychological warfare that they are disguising this fraud with the concept ot the "zero option."

The representatives of the fraternal parties expressed their appreciation of the fact that, precisely a few days before the Prague conference, at the Third SED Central Committee Session, Erich Honecker had unmasked the tactics of the U.S. administration to ask for everything from the Soviet Union at the negotiations on medium-range missiles, but on NATO's part to only negotiate about those land-based medium-range missiles which are to be deployed in keeping with the Brussels decision. In doing so the United States wants to exclude from the talks its advanced nuclear bases in Europe as well as the already existing sea and air-based medium-range missiles.

Our delegation stressed that Comrade Ilich Brezhnev created a constructive basis for the negotiations with the United States that began on 30 November with his specific new proposals in his Bonn speech and particularly with the offer -- which is proof of the USSR's passionate will for peace -- to voluntarily reduce the number of medium-range missiles while agreeing on a moratorium. Thus I was able to draw the following conclusions at the conference: within a few days the peoples received -- in the speeches of the representatives of the two antagonistic social systems -- an extremely vivid object lesson of the constructive Leninist peace policy of socialism, and of imperialism's assurances of peace which disregard the principle of equality and equal security.

Several NATO politicians are trying to paralyze the peace movement with the bluff that "The negotiations agreed upon between the United States and the USSR should not be disturbed by political actions on the street."

The very opposite is true, however: The people's pressure compelled the Reagan administration to accept the opening of negotiations, proposed by the USSR. But an even stronger pressure by the people is necessary to force the U.S. rulers to conduct the negotiations constructively, substantially, and not to abuse them as an alibi for stepped-up armament.

The lie of the danger from the East, of the alleged Soviet arms lead, remains a component part of imperialist baiting.

The 64 years which have passed since Great October have proved unambiguously that it has always been imperialism that has rearmed and armed in advance, and that the USSR has always been compelled to arm complementarily. With the manufacture of the barbarous neutron weapon the United States has taken a new dangerous step of advancing armament, and with a qualitatively new offensive weapon at that. The calumny of presenting the United States and the Soviet Union, NATO and the Warsaw Pact as being equally responsible for the stepped up armament and for the exacerbation of the international situation also in intended to deceive the people. Our common responsibility for preserving peace enjoins us communists to oppose these mystifications with every possible consistency.

The fact that thanks to their tremendous achievements and sacrifices the Soviet people have established and still are maintaining the approximate military equilibrium with imperialism is and remains of basic importance for the balance of power. The class alliance of socialist states, the Warsaw Pact, will see to it that this historic achievement will also be safeguarded in the future in the interest of world peace and of containing the aggressive imperialist forces. We would like to remind people with a short memory: Without the power of the USSR, without the military equilibrium, imperialism would have unleashed a third, nuclear world war, a long time ago. The socialist states are continuing to pursue their basic aims of disbanding the existing military blocs, of general and universal disarmament.

But in view of the running amuck of the U.S. leaders for military superiority, the struggle for dissolving the military blocs and for complete disarmament proceeds today by way of preserving the military equilibrium and through steps to arms limitation and disarmament.

This is why our party resolutely opposes all attempts at tracing the exacerbation of the situation to a "power policy of the superpowers." Such slogans which are class-indifferent and non-Marxist objectively hamper the peace struggle and are grist for the mills of imperialism which demand that socialism should abandon its support for the peoples' struggle for national and social liberation.

Decisive for the prospects of social progress is the fact that all in all, developed socialism is entering a higher stage of its social upsurge. This stage is marked by a closer interconnection between the advantages of socialism and the gains of the scientific-technical revolution, by the transition to a general utilization of predominantly intensive factors of economic growth. Precisely such a course toward superior labor productivity as we explained to the delegations from nonsocialist countries, will make it possible to safeguard fulfilling the main task of the developed socialist society in its unity of economic and social policy as well as the requirements of socialist national defense and internationalist solidarity.

All these problems were discussed vividly and in the spirit of mutual understanding.

Thus this conference has strengthened the political and action unity of the communist and workers parties.

HORIZONT: What other results did the meeting produce?

Herman Axen: The conference also was extraordinarily constructive because the representatives of the parties from all continents reported about the specific, concrete conditions, tasks and problems of their struggle, and were able to compare their evaluations and stances. But this is indispensable in view of the expansion of the revolutionary movement and of the increasing variety of the combat conditions and tasks in order to gather collective experiences, to arrive at comprehensive, exact judgments and findings, to deepen the mutual understanding and solidarity for the struggle of the individual parties, to intensify solidarity among them and last but not least to establish new contacts and relations among them.

HORIZONT: Who participated in this conference?

Herman Axen: Whereas 4 years ago representatives of 75 parties participated in this sort of deliberations, this time delegations of more than 90 parties attended. Most of these were led by prominent party representatives.

Thus the 1981 conference was the thus far most comprehensive one of these deliberations about our common journal.

HORIZONT: Does this not mirror the tendency for closer cooperation among the revolutionary forces?

Hermann Axen: Undoubtedly. The extensive, representative participation in the deliberations affirms the assessment made at our 10th party congress that a growing urge toward understanding, cooperation and joint action on the basis of equality of rights and independence is becoming evident among the communist parties and other revolutionary forces. Fifteen parties participated for the first time, including the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party of Mozambique, the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Workers of Ethiopia, the Yemeni Socialist Party, the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar, the Congolese Labor Party, and the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin.

This expresses first the growth of our movement and then the aspiration to a closer collaboration among the three revolutionary mainstreams of our times in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and for social and national progress. This basic characteristic of the revolutionary movements of our era became clearly evident as early as at the International Scientific Conference in Berlin in October 1980.

Also important is the following fact: At the Prague meeting this year, the consolidation of the political and ideological action unity of the communist movement was affirmed with a feeling of great responsibility. In this context numerous parties endorsed a new international meeting of the revolutionary parties of our time, which would take up a stand on the most burning problem of the present, ensuring peace.

HORIZONT: What problems elicited particular attention in the discussion about the further work of the journal?

Hermann Axen: The participants unanimously upheld the view that the journal must devote even more space to problems of the struggle for peace, above all to the broad international movement of the most varied antiwar forces. A great many speakers pointed out that in light of the confrontation course, anti-Sovietism as the most concentrated expression of anticommunism, which is most dangerous to the peoples' vital interests, must be more vigorously opposed than ever. They critically commented on manifestations of an assessment of the causes of the danger of war that is not classminded and is non-Marxist.

Other points of key emphasis for the journal's work stressed during the discussion were:

-- A more specific description and dissemination of information, experiences and findings about the development of the countries of real socialism, as well as of those countries which, under the leadership of revolutionary vanguard parties, have embarked on the path of socialist development;

-- About the struggle of the nationally liberated states to consolidate their independence against the neocolonialist policy of imperialism, and to remodel international economic relations;

-- About the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism and the conclusions resulting from this for the strategy and tactics of the antimonopolist struggle in the capitalist countries;

-- About the development of the communist and workers movement, about new phenomena in the development of the workers class and of other strata of the population, about tasks that have become ripe related to youth and women, to the democratic and peace movements.

The overall need was stressed that the journal should enhance its role in disseminating and enriching Marxist-Leninist theory. It should even more comprehensively promote the exchange of views about new problems, experiences and findings with result from the struggle of the communists and other revolutionary forces, and in doing so should even more than before take into consideration the increasing variety as well as the legitimately greater unity of the revolutionary movement.

HORIZONT: What final conclusions came from the conference for our party?

Herman Axen: First, the SED has actively participated in the journal's work since its founding. It will continue to do so in the spirit of the pointed out goals and key points.

Second, we will also utilize the vast content of the journal for the idealogical education work of our party in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In doing so, the journal HORIZONT will certainly continue to make an active contribution.

Third, we will exploit and consider the multifaceted ideas, suggestions and proposals submitted at the conference for the international activity of our party, particularly for consolidating the collaboration among the communists and all revolutionary forces.

HOFFMANN MILITARY DELEGATION VISITS VIETNAM

7 Jan Arrival

LD071148 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1118 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Hanoi 7 Jan (ADN) -- A GDR military delegation, led by SED Central Committee Politburo member Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, minister of national defense, arrived in the SRV today. The delegation met with the Political Bureau members of the Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee, Army Gen Van Tien Dung, minister of national defense, and Army Gen Cho Huy Man, chief of the Political Administration in the Vietnamese People's Army, for a friendly discussion, during which the defence ministers paid tribute to the close friendship and cooperation between the two fraternal countries and their armies.

During its visit of several days, the GDR military delegation will visit troop units and establishments of the Vietnamese People's Army ground, air and sea forces. It will also exchange experiences on the military protection of peaceful development work under the leadership of the Marxist Leninist parties.

Hanoi Reception

LD071828 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1715 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Hanoi, 7 Jan (ADN) -- In Hanoi this evening, Army Gen Van Tien Dung gave a reception in honor of the GDR military delegation which is currently in Vietnam. In his toast, the Vietnamese defense minister praised the fraternal friendship between the two countries. The people of the GDR have expressed their internationalist stand by thousands of actions supporting the Vietnamese people, in the past in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and in the present in defense of the socialist fatherland. All the revolutionary stages of the Vietnamese people's struggle are connected with the achievements and the strength of the Soviet Union, the fraternal countries in the socialist community of states and the revolutionary world movement.

GDR Defense Minister Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann said increased cooperation between the socialist states increases the influence of the forces of socialism and peace in the world. The people of Vietnam and the GDR know what they owe the Soviet Union, and both of them fight side by side with the Soviet Union against the global hegemonistic claims of U.S. imperialism, its allies and hechmen. No enemy can destroy our alliance."

RELIGIOUS LEADERS GREET HONECKER ON NEW YEAR

Jewish Congregation Greeting

AU071140 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jan 82 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Helmut Aris, president of the Association of Jewish Congregations in the GDR, has sent a greetings message to Erich Honecker, GDR State Council chairman, on the occasion of the beginning of the new year. The message reads as follows;

"On the occasion of the beginning of the new year, I congratulate you cordially also on behalf of the Association of Jewish Congregations in the GDR. In the new year, too, the citizens of Jewish faith will exert every effort to ensure that peace will be maintained so that all peoples of this world can live in happiness. I wish you, very esteemed Mr Chairman of the State Council, health and well-being and much creative vigor in your high office for 1982.

Seventh-Day Adventists

AU071426 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jan 82 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Manfred Boettcher, president of the congregation of the Seventh-Day Adventists, has sent cordial congratulations to Erich Honecker, GDR State Council chairman, on the occasion of the beginning of the new year.

The message stresses that 1981 "makes us, as Christians and citizens of the GDR, grateful above all for the fact that peace was maintained despite various dangers. We are also grateful for the additional social measures of our Government and the progress which was made in the economic development.

However, we had to note with concern that instead of a peaceful coexistence of peoples and states, an unchecked arms race took place in the world. Therefore, in the year ahead of us we would like to support you, highly esteemed Mr State Council Chairman, with all our strength in the efforts to maintain peace in the world. We regard it as the supreme concern in relations among peoples to preserve and to ensure peace.

May your work in your high office in the future be to the benefit of all citizens of our country. We wish you the necessary strength and health for all the tasks ahead of you.

Finally may I assure you, highly esteemed Mr State Council Chairman, that out of our Christian responsibility we include you in our prayers so that your work in our state will be blessed."

FRG CITIZEN DETAINED FOR TRANSIT ABUSE

AU071445 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jan 82 p 2

[ADN report: "FRG Citizen Detained for Abusing Rules on Visitors Traffic"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On 28 December 1981 GDR customs organs apprehended redhanded and detained FRG citizen Friedhelm Hagemann, official of the town of Hattingen, at the GDR Marienborn border crossing point. Hagemann abused the generous opportunities to enter the GDR for the purpose of speculation and attempted to smuggle high-quality optical products into the FRG. Investigative proceedings were initiated and an arrest warrant was issued. The smuggled goods and the Opel Rekord automobile with official license plates No EN-JN 649 used for the offense were impounded.

TISCH MEETS WITH WFTU SECRETARY GENERAL

LD080038 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1828 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Berlin, 7 Jan (ADN) -- Harry Tisch, chairman of the GDR trade union federation FDGB, received Ibrahim Zakariyah, secretary-general of the WFTU on Thursday in Berlin for a friendly talk. In connection with the preparation of the 10th World Trade Union Congress, the question of securing peace was at the center of the talk.

Because of the aggressive policy of the United States and the attempts by the most reactionary forces of the leading NATO states to achieve military superiority over socialism, the danger for peace was never so great as now. Both sides express the conviction that additional effort was necessary to prevent the danger of a war and to strengthen international security. It was a matter of supporting all forces of goodwill in the world and the peace movement, in order to stop the machinations of imperialist circles and to prevent mankind from being dragged into the abyss of another war.

Ibrahim Zakariyah spoke about the activities of the WFTU in preparation for the 10th World Trade Union Congress which is to take place from 10 to 15 February 1982 in Havana. The main aim of the congress is the strengthening of unity of action of all trade unionists to secure peace.

Harry Tisch gave the assurance that the FDGB is doing everything in its power to prepare the 10th World Trade Union Congress successfully and conclude it with positive results. In the same period the FDGB is preparing for its 10th Congress in April this year. Up to now the results of the trade union elections showed that the GDR working class was realizing the SED policy, oriented toward securing peace, with great activity and many initiatives.

The trade unions considered it as one of their most important tasks to organize even better the socialist competition as a form for developing the creative initiatives of the masses in order to increase work productivity even more quickly and put some of the energy and raw-material resources at the disposal of other national economic tasks, in order to contribute also in this way to the comprehensive strengthening of the socialist state. Harry Tisch stressed that in all the people the conviction is present that the stronger the state, the stronger socialism, the more secure peace is.

CHILEAN CP DELEGATION ARRIVES IN BERLIN

LD080030 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1845 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Berlin, 7 Jan (ADN) -- A delegation of the Chilean Communist Party led by Volodia Teitelboim, member of the Chilean Communist Party Political Commission, arrived in Berlin today at the invitation of the SED Central Committee. The guests were cordially welcomed by Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee and other officials. During their visit, which will last several days, the delegation will familiarize itself with the experience of the SED in political ideological work.

This afternoon, Volodia Teitelboim gave a lecture at the party's "Karl Marx College on the experiences of the Chilean fraternal party in the struggle for national and social liberation."

BRIEFS

POWERPLANTS FOR CUBA -- The third Cuban sugar refinery built since the revolution has begun operations, and the assembly of the fourth plant is progressing in Granma District. In 1982 the outfitting of two more plants for the processing of sugar cane will begin in Villa Clara and Camaguey districts. The Berlin VEB powerplant installations combine is supplying steam generators, turbine assemblies and other electrical engineering equipment for the new plants as well as for the 45 old ones which will be remodeled. They have already stood the test under tropical conditions in 52 factories. One of their advantages is that they make possible the burning of bagasse, a residue of sugar production. By 1985 the powerplant installations combine will outfit 13 new and 52 old sugar refineries. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Dec 81 p 5 AU]

NEUBRANDENBURG AGRICULTURAL TARGETS -- Preparatory to the 12th Peasants' Congress, party activists of Neubrandenburg Bezirk today discussed ways of implementing the new yardsticks set forth for agricultural policy. A detailed discussion was devoted to grain cultivation for which the area is to be enlarged by 10,000 hectares compared with last year. The LPG peasants consider this an option for producing 1 million tons of grain this year and thus reaching the hitherto highest result in Neubrandenburg Bezirk. The documents pertaining to the development of agriculture in the eighties disclose that grain holds a priority position. In its political significance it holds the same rank as crude oil. Under existing plans more than 10 million tons of grain will be produced in the GDR by 1985. This will be the basis for supplying the people with 2.4 million tons of slaughter animals under a simultaneously tangible reduction of grain imports. [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 4 Jan 82 DW]

WESTERN RESPONSE TO POLISH EVENTS REPORTED

Western Countries Split

LD071204 Budapest MTI in English 1044 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Budapest, 7 Jan (MTI) -- "The past over three weeks have justified the decision of Warsaw leaders (the introduction of the state of emergency), as life as gradually returning to normal in Poland. Productive work has been resumed, the introduction of a new economic management system and the schedule of implementation of the reform plans have been decided. Negotiations have started between government officials and the representatives of Solidarity, the Branch and Autonomous Trade Unions", runs a commentary in Thursday's NEPSZAVA, discussing Western response to fresh developments in the Polish situation.

During the past one and a half years "Solidarity definitely enjoyed the full sympathy of the Western world and some circles did not even shrink from pushing Poland, which was grappling with serious difficulties anyway, to the brink of civil war with the help of the well-known means of arousing passions. And this was practically what the Military Council of National Salvation prevented", reads the article in NEPSZAVA adding that earlier the West used to speak about the dangers of "Soviet intervention", the "intervention of the Warsaw Treaty" and proclaimed that the Poles themselves must solve their problems and decide the fate of their country. "Well, this is exactly what they have been doing for the past three weeks, without any intervention", stresses the commentator.

"In several capitals of the Western world the developments were discussed in a tone of soberness and the necessity of the extraordinary measures was acknowledged. Not so in Washington where President Reagan, by imposing sanctions on Poland and the Soviet Union, entered the path of cold war, widening thus the rift between the two world systems. When announcing his policy of sanctions, he left no doubt that he was reckoning on the support of his allies."

The question now is "whether the leading Western countries are willing -- and if so to what extent -- to subordinate their well-conceived political and economic interests to the American conception", asks NEPSZAVA.

"It became clear at the Brussels meeting of the foreign ministers of the Ten that the allies of the United States were seeking an acceptable compromise. While expressing concern in words and claiming in their declaration that they completely disapproved of the turn in the Polish situation, they left no doubt about their reluctance to comply with the sanctions announced by Reagan, either".

The commentary states about the communique of the Ten: "Nothing concrete, but clear statement of their reluctance to find themselves in a situation which would force them to change such measures which correspond to their own particular national interests".

The daily recalls that Chancellor Schmidt, yet before the meeting expressed open disapproval that the American President had again missed to consult his allies before announcing the sanctions. When formulating his statements at the meeting with Reagan, the chancellor had to take pains considering to the utmost the opinion of the party behind him, the SPD, and in a broader sense the opinion of the West German electors also; not to speak about the responsibility he personally feels for the development of the European situation, in concord with the members of his government and the coalition party FDP", states NEPSZAVA.

"Well, the fresh developments in the Polish home political situation are quite a tough nut to crack for the Western alliance. The solution, the answer is still to be awaited.

There is, however, one lesson for us to be drawn at this point already: that in its present policy it can hardly reckon on the unconditional support of its allies. The allies have already learned in the last decades of European history that the policy of sanctions bids no success". The realistic West European politicians are aware also of the fact that "Poland is an inseparable member of the socialist community. The acknowledgement of this fact does not harm European peace and security; on the contrary, it promotes them".

Now it is extremely difficult for some people, the American President included, to accept what the whole Western world once demanded: that the Poles should solve their problems themselves. And this is exactly what's happening in our days, ends the commentary in NEPSZAVA.

Western Credits Discussed

LD072258 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] The committee of representatives of seven large Western banks giving credit to Poland met today in London, in order to discuss concessions to be granted to Poland. MTI correspondent Endre Aczel reports from the scene:

Details have not filtered through at the moment from the (?famous) tight-lipped (?mouths) of the bankers. In any case, it was said to me at the Bank of America that it is improbable that there will be a sensational announcement in the wake of Thursday's talks, if only because the participants dealt with technical and not essential issues. Irrespective of this, one must know what makes the repeated meetings on the issue of Polish credits pressing. The reason can be found in that banks must prepare their balances for last year within weeks, and the unpaid debts or interest must play a part in this in some way.

The American source quoted earlier denied that they might be working for some strict deadline. Rather, it was emphasized that a rescheduling of Polish payments due in 1981 is in the interests of everyone. The big issue naturally is the interest payment; without this an extension for the repayment of credit cannot be given. From here in London it seems that on the Polish side the payment of the 1981 quantity of interest estimated at roughly $400 million has begun, and as a result of this the climate is changing. According to this financial (?credit) source, the Thursday meeting demonstrates the strong interest and hopes of the Western banks, and moreover for two reasons: If the banks approve of once more (?going over) the legal and technical problems of the already-prepared 150 page rescheduling contract, then preparations are really taking place for the Warsaw meeting where the contract would be put into final form. If the banks want to show at any price that the talks on Polish credits have not gotten stuck, this also is a good sign, especially in contrast to the politically motivated variation of proclaiming Poland to be in default and not negotiating with it further.

POLISH TV PROGRAM WITH SOLIDARITY'S BRUNNE CITED

LD080020 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Excerpts] Yesterday evening, Polish television carried a sensational interview. Marek Brunne, former press spokesman of Solidarity and former member of the National Commission, has returned home from the United States, and he spoke on Polish Television. It must be known that Brunne is a university lecturer and one of the closest colleagues of Lech Walesa, who since October of last year, has represented the stand of Solidarity to the press.

The statement by Marek Brunne obviously caused a stir because he is the highest-ranking Solidarity leader to appear in public on Polish Television since the introduction of the state of emergency, not to mention the fact that he returned home from America, despite the expectations there.

I see the significance of this affair in that, to a certain extent, it can contribute to the realization of the endeavors of the Polish Government. Since the introduction of the state of emergency on 13 December, the Polish leadership has used every opportunity to make this clear: The state of emergency in Poland is not for reestablishing the conditions which existed before August 1980, but for preventing the further development of counterrevolution.

ACZEL RECEIVES SOVIET TV OFFICIAL, POET

LD080034 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Gyorgy Aczel, deputy premier and member of the MSZMP Politburo, has received Yuriy Orlov, deputy chairman of the Soviet Television and Radio Committee, and Robert Rozhdestvenskiy, well-known Soviet poet. The guests are in Hungary for Hungarian Radio's literary evening presentation of the poetry of Rozhdestvenskiy.

STATISTICAL OFFICE ON 1981 ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

LD061132 Budapest MTI in English 1042 GMT 6 Jan 82

[Text] Budapest, 6 Jan (MTI) -- The Hungarian Central Statistical Office has released a report about the economic results of the period January-November 1981.

In the first eleven months of last year the production of socialist industry surpassed by 2.5 percent the corresponding figure of the preceding year. With 4.9 percent, machine industry recorded the greatest growth. Chemical industrial production rose by 3.3, light industrial by 2.9 and food industrial by 2.6 percent. Building industrial production remained approximately at the same level as in 1980 while mining and metallurgy had a small lag. There was no considerable rise in the export sales of industrial commodity.

At current prices Hungarian foreign trade exported 5.6 percent more goods than in the preceding year and imported 4.5 percent more.

Industrial employment dropped by 35,500 or 2.1 percent. The per employee production value rose by 4.7 percent as compared to the first eleven months of 1980.

In 1981, 2.1 percent more agricultural produce were sold than a year previously, with 4.6 percent sales increase in plant products. Also more poultry and slaughter sheep were sold, as many pigs as in the preceding year and slaughter cattle sales declined.

The population drew 7.5 percent more money from central sources than in 1980 and consumer prices rose by 4.4 percent. Of the latter the price modifications amounted to 2.6 percent.

In January-November 1981, Hungarian retail trade sold 8.7 percent more commodity at current prices and 3.6 percent more at comparative prices than a year previously. In the period under survey the socialist organs spend 132,800 million forints on investment, 3.8 percent less at current prices than in the corresponding period of the previous year. Most of the drop was registered at state investments, while the investments of companies and cooperatives continued to grow.

BRIEFS

FOREIGN TRADE OFFICIAL APPOINTED -- Budapest, 7 Jan (MTI) -- The Hungarian Council of Ministers has appointed Janos Ambrus to the post of deputy minister of foreign trade. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1741 GMT 7 Jan 82 LD]

BAKA DISCUSSES MARTIAL LAW, REFORM 7 JAN

LD072132 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Report on 7 January press conference at Polish Council of Ministers given by Minister Wladyslaw Baka, government plenipotentiary for economic reform]

[Text] We now present a report on a press conference held in the offices of the Council of Ministers. On 1 January the introduction of complex economic reforms began in our country by way of fundamental reconstruction of the mechanisms of management and the functioning of economy. How soon the remaining factors of the economic reform will be introduced depends on the normalization of life in the country. The reform was the subject of a press conference today in the offices of the government's press spokesman. Minister Wladyslaw Baka, government plenipotentiary for economic reform, who took part at the conference replied to questions and doubts which come to mind since the declaration of martial law: Do the authorities desire reform and have they done everything possible in order to prepare the reform and carry it out? Is it possible to carry out the reform in conditions of martial law? Do the government's concrete intentions move toward that goal?

Minister Baka himself presented the questions which have appeared in various circles, and replied with concrete facts which in practice confirm the strong will to continue the reform as declared by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, and by documents which accompanied the declaration of martial law. He also quoted earlier declarations made by the head of the government, starting from the first Sejm speech in which conditions for successful implementation of the reform -- calm in the country and normal work -- were mentioned.

Demands addressed to the government, impossible to implement, often mutually exclusive chaos in the economy and anarchization of social life have prevented the introduction of the reform.

Minister Baka expressed regret that such a lofty idea as economic reform, which was prepared with social participation, has become a platform for political confrontation. However, he said this great idea cannot be erased. Martial law has been introduced not to slow down the reform, but to create conditions for its introduction, so that we have something to reform, said Professor Baka.

Next, he replied to more concrete questions. Let us listen:

[Begin Baka recording] I would like to draw your attention, ladies and gentlemen, to two trends within these activities. The first aims at creating legal guarantees for a comprehensive, far-reaching economic reform. I remind you that the government -- in the first days of December, between 4 and 6 December -- forwarded to the Sejm the drafts of eight fundamental laws, the adoption of which by the Sejm will create the basis and principles of a completely new socioeconomic mechanism in our country. On 22 December the so-called first reading of these drafts took place during the meeting of three Sejm commissions. The meeting fully endorsed, and in their original form, the drafts submitted by the government to the Sejm before the introduction of the state of martial law. What does this prove? It proves the will to continue the line of changes, which had been programed by the government and found its reflection in the draft bills: It also proves that, from the point of view of the shape of the fundamental principles of the reform we stand invariably and consistently on the ground of the Sejm resolution of 25 September: We stand on the ground of the resolution of the ninth extraordinary congress of the party; we stand on the ground of the directions of economic reform which have been approved by the public, as I may well put it. This is the first trend.

The second trend of the work is connected with the introduction of new mechanisms and new principles of functioning into the practical work of the national economy, as from 1 January, 1982.

As you well know, ladies and gentlemen, the Council of Ministers adopted on 30 November a resolution which comprehensively covered all the aspects of the functioning of the national economy. This resolution constitutes a fundamental act introducing the economic reform.

The Military Council recommended that the government adjust the principles of the functioning of the economy to the requirements of military law, but to preserve to the broadest extent possible everything that makes for the independence of the enterprise, for new economic mechanisms, within this adjustment. And that work was carried out. Admittedly, there were tendecies here and there (?who wished) to exploit martial law in order to revert to the methods of ordering and apportioning, but these tendencies did not gain support. In any case, the government resolution, which is the document determining the direction in which the functioning of the economy will develop, rejected this current, this little trickle of a current if one is allowed to say so, of thought. This also confirms -- this confirmation was given very quickly -- the declaration that there will be no return to the old methods. Obviously, the question naturally arises: Then in that case what has martial law changed in the mechanism of functioning when compared with the period before 13 December? We have carried out an analysis, and taking all the circumstances into account, following the recommendation of Military Council of National Salvation to preserve to the broadest extent the principles of the independence of the enterprise and to introduce economic mechanism, the government adopted the resolution of 30 December [as heard] which introduces a modification.

This resolution states that the principles of 30 November are binding, with alterations which are to adjust the functioning to the requirements of martial law.

Permit me gentlemen, since as I think these matters will be subject to questions, to indicate very briefly some of the more important matters. Thus the first question: our aims. The economic aims contained in the resolution of 30 December and in the draft of the national economic plan have not changed. That is the first point. Our economy and our state are not in a wartime situation. A state of war is connected with the subordination of all economic activity to defeat the opponent, the enemy without.

Martial law, as opposed to 'a state of war' was dictated completely by other considerations and completely different causes. Martial law does not change the hierarchies; it only changed the priorities in the direction of expanding these social goals, social goals which found expression in operational programs.

As we enter 1982 we are conscious of a great paucity of resources. What matters is simply introducing far-reaching independence, to create a mechanism that would concentrate the exploitation of leading resources to satisfy basic needs. The operational programs relate to the satisfaction of the most essential needs such as the need for food, and operational programs for cereal products and bread products, for milk products and their management, for fats and meat, medicines, and the basic means of hygiene. Additional programs have been introduced such as an operational program for supplying work enterprises with work and protective clothing. These operational programs have been guaranteed a supply priority, have been guaranteed the most effective implementation. We consider that the expansion stems from a deeper analysis of needs and from a deeper analysis of the threats which may occur in conditions of progressive, expanding independence of enterprises. Thus we note that the first distinctive element is the expansion of the list of operational programs for social needs.

The second element which is distinctive, which was introduced by the new resolution, is increasing the effectiveness of the implementation of the operation programs.

What is the main point here? The main point is the maintenance of the principle of the absolute priority in the supply of raw materials for those enterprises which manufacture goods involved in the operational programs. On the other hand this does not engender -- here lies the novel element -- the establishment of the institution of plenipotentiaries of ministers who would deal with the matters pertaining to operational programs, whose task is to ensure that the implementation of these programs proceeds in an undisturbed manner, that the links of cooperation are maintained properly and closely and that the supply of materials, energy resources and other resources are delivered, on the basis of priority, to those enterprises which are implementing operational programs.

This does not have to involve the introduction of mandatory directives, because, simply, the basic regulator of the economy now lies in the system of the supply of raw and other materials. Enterprises will simply compete to find themselves within the group of enterprises implementing operational programs. However, it is impossible to exclude the occurrence of situations, albeit very singular situations, in which it will be necessary to impose an obligation upon a given enterprise to produce some component or element of production which would be involved in the implementation of an operational program. And this, precisely, constitutes the essential novelty.

An important issue linked with the introduction of the state of martial law is the radical strengthening of the principle of direction by one man, the militarization of a section of the national economy and the transition to the principle of the -- one might say -- direction in the military fashion. Naturally this had to involve the suspension of employees' self-management. I would like to emphasize at this point two things: first of all the fact that Military Council of National Salvation has declared itself unambiguously in favor of the self-management aspect of our economic reform, stating in its resolution that employees' self-management constitutes the foundation of the reform. Second, the resolution of the Council of Ministers, which suspended the functioning of employees' self-management, has envisaged that as soon as the necessary conditions arise, in other words when stabilization is achieved and conditions which will make it possible to reactivate employees' self-management, ministers and heads of government departments are authorized to act accordingly.

At this point I would like to mention that the number of enterprises in which employees' self-management was functioning at the time of the introduction of the state of martial law did not exceed 30 percent. Summing up this issue, I would like to say that the suspension of the self-management system -- and this must be emphasized very strongly -- does not mean that its status is being reduced within the economic reform. It only means that for this particular period of time this system is being in fact suspended, but as soon as the necessary conditions arise employees' self-management will be reactivated to the full extent of its functions. Here again I would like to say that we were wondering whether a formula of a very limited system of employees' self-management should be introduced, among others a system limited only to certain consultative functions involving expression of opinions, and so on. We consulted, on numerous occasions, activists from the system of employees' self-management. We had many conversations with people who studied this problem for a long time and have a good memory of the events of 1956, 1957 and 1958 when workers' councils were being transformed, so to speak, into workers' self-management committees. The preoccupation and anxiety lest similar interpretation could be placed on any such limitation of employees' self-management, was very strong and the decisive majority of people spoke in favor of presenting the issue in an unambiguous manner, that is, that self-management was suspended for the duration of the state of martial law and that self-management -- in all its functions -- will be reestablished; and this is an extremely important prospect. [end recording]

[Announcer] Minister Wladyslaw Baka, speaking further about the modifications concerning the functioning of the national economy, pointed out that certain changes were dictated by the worsening of the internal conditions of economic management. Our country is finding it more and more difficult to obtain foreign currencies, and this fact has made it necessary to limit for the time being the extent of currency allocations which enterprises employ for their own needs. The sanctions imposed upon us by President Reagan's administration have caused an additional gap in the balance of payments and will affect the possibilities of providing supplies, not only for agriculture but also for industry. In addition, our national economy has for a long time now been operating in the conditions of a grave deficit of raw and other materials as well as energy resources. Hitherto, the doctrine of a uniform limitation of access to resources for all producers has been applied; now a more selective course of action will be adopted.

As a result of this, some enterprises will have to suspend their activity temporarily or for good. This conversion, forced by circumstances but beneficial from the viewpoint of economic effectiveness in any conditions, will be implemented with fully solving the problems of people in as beneficial a way as possible. Minister Baka referred here to the recently announced professional incentives fund.

The government plenipotentiary devoted a great deal of attention also to the subject of protecting the market and the consumer from the side-effects of introducing changes. Immediate costs of the reform, although they too will become beneficial in the near future, will be borne by the groups which are stronger in the economic sense. On behalf of the government, Minister Baka declared readiness to resort to rigorous means of intervention if phenomena unbeneficial to consumers arise wuch as, for instance, an uncontrolled rise in prices.

JEDYNAK ATTENDS SESSION ON ECONOMY 7 JAN

LD071850 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] In the office for the economic use of materials, today a session was organized on the subject of introduction of new materials and technical supplies. Among others participating in the session was Deputy Premier Andrzej Jedynak. The new system of material and technical supply came into force as of 1 January 1982. As a new set of legal regulations, it calls for many detailed explanations. This too was dealt with during the session. It was also stated, among other things, that in conditions of profound shortage of a majority of basic raw and other materials, it will be necessary during the period of the introduction of the economic reform to maintain the system of distribution — as least in some groups of raw and other materials.

SEJM COMMITTEE DISCUSSES DRAFT TAX LAW 7 JAN

LD080030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Text] Discussion is continuing in the Sejm on draft laws relating to the principles of economic reform. The subcommittee concerned with a law on taxation of units of the socialized economy held a session yesterday. The draft law very clearly restricts the range of connections between enterprises and the budget. It anticipates that the source of the central and local budgets will be found in kinds of taxes levied on units of the socialized economy: a turnover tax, a wages fund tax, a property tax and an income tax. Following a detailed review and discussion of all the articles of the draft law, the commission decided to pass the document on to its authors in order to carry out amendments.

OZDOWSKI HEADS ANTISPECULATION COMMISSION SESSION

LD080502 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Text] A session of the Central Commission for Combating Speculation has been held. Deputy Premier Jerzy Ozdowski, who chaired the session, said that the problem of combating speculationhad become one of the priority issues during the period of martial law. The Government Presidium will be dealing with these matters next week. At present the most frequent speculation phenomenon is the concealment of goods in anticipation of price increases or with a view to the protective [protekcyjny] sale of these goods, said Deputy Premier Jerzy Ozdowski.

LABOR MINISTRY OFFICIAL ON NEW JOBS, UNEMPLOYMENT

LD071812 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan (PAP) -- The Ministry of Labour, Wages and Social Welfare is making every effort to create new needed jobs and to forestall any unemployment of a lasting nature. To this effect, the ministry will amend the resolution on labour relocations and will introduce new incentive for people to take up work in the crafts and agricultural sectors, said a high-ranking official of the ministry, Ireneusz Sekula, in an interview for PAP.

Mr. Sekula, the ministry department director, said that also this year employees of the factories that will be closed down will have the opportunity of early retirement.

He stressed that the newly-created fund for professional activation will be an important instrument that will make it possible to tune an active employment exchange to the economic reform, to set up new jobs and of possibilities for retraining. The fund will also serve as a source of financing benefits for employees of the enterprises which will temporarily suspend production.

The fund should also help factories to keep workers employed at newly-created division of side-line production or services which are in demand.

All this is to ensure social protection for an employee who should be offered another job or an opportunity to retrain for another trade or profession, Sekula said.

Labour relocations are inevitable. One can hardly predict their scale nowadays because the dimensions of cuts in production, depending on the volume of coal extraction, imports and other factors, are unknown.

Generally speaking, most of the 1981 tendencies will prevail in 1982. A more distinct tendency as to superfluous labour will become evident only in 1983 when machanisms of the reform have started operating and when the factory-level efforts to employ only those workers who are indispensable for a given enterprise have become evident, Mr Sekula said.

REPORTAGE OF RECENT PZPR ASSESSMENTS, ACTIVITIES

CKKP Assesses Tasks

LD072240 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission [CKKP] met in Warsaw today, chaired by Jerzy Urbanski. The Presidium assessed the implementation of the CKKP's current tasks and accepted the agreed directions and methods for its activity as well as the decisions the CKKP leadership have made to date. The Presidium also acquainted itself with the current state of settling party accounts, particularly accounts with people who have abused management posts for personal gains. The Presidium stated that this process is and will be consistently conducted. It has been decided that a detailed communique which will shed light on the overall shape of this issue will be issued this month.

The CKKP Presidium stressed that a full consolidation of its ranks on the plane of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and organizational principles defined by the statute is a matter of fundamental importance for the party today. This represents a condition for activization of the entire party in efforts aimed at extricating the country out of the crisis, a task which is being implemented with all of the nation's patriotic forces which expouse the principles of the political system of the Polish People's Republic.

At the same time, the CKKP Presidium has announced that the CKKP will make all of those who want to violate the party's organizational ideological unity -- irrespective of the views and intentions they themselves declare -- to account to the party. This is because such activity cannot be reconciled with the need to consolidate the party's strength during the current period.

On the basis of an analysis of the causes and consequences of the moral deformations which have arisen and which have affected some of the leading personnel in the past, considering the necessity to fully observe the principles of socialist social justice and within the framework of consistent continuation of socialist renewal, the CKKP Presidium considers it essential to: diligently observe the right proportions -- as adopted by the ninth extraordinary congress -- between the lowest and highest incomes and to introduce effective economic mechanisms in order to secure them; introduce and resolutely execute the duty to make property declarations both when assuming and departing from key posts; hand over for use in social aims all of the villas, luxury vacation homes or private residences which were built illegally; accept and consistently observe the principle that one family is entitled to only one apartment; and, wage a resolute struggle against all manifestations of bribery, pulling strings and creating cliques by applying severe legal sanctions against those responsible.

The CKKP Presidium believes that bringing the above and similar decisions into effect agrees with the principles of the socialist social justice.

Siwak on Membership, Solidarity

LD080832 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0638 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Text] The reason I joined the party was to guard and defend workers' rights, Albin Siwak, member of the Central Committee Politburo, stated in an interview carried in today's TRYBUNA LUDU. We quote: I sometimes hear that I, Albin Siwak, now have the opportunity, after the imposition of martial law, to get back at Solidarity. For me this is a painful affront. I have always fought without disguise [otwarta przylbica], face to face. I do not know how to hit someone in the back and I have never been guided by revenge.

Next Albin Siwak states: It is true that I have gone through many difficult moments and even humiliations which also have not passed by people close to me. In the documents found in the Mazowsze region [Solidarity] headquarters there is a detailed list testifying to plans to eliminate me (?for good). Well, what can I say? This fate was not being prepared for me alone. The list of persons whom it was planned to put to death individually or in whole families is startingly long. It is not just former men of prominence who are on this list. To be more precise, it is not they who figure in this list the most. This list contains above all the names of Polish communists.

We quote further: It is our task, it is the task of the party today, to become worthy of our class whose confidence we must all merit in an honest and genuine manner. Being aware of our patriotic duty and of our internationalistic responsibility we stretch out our hand to agreement while counting on the fact that today it will not be accepted by everybody yet but also on the fact that there are people to whom one should not extend one's hand and to whom it is not worth extending it if one wants to retain respect for oneself.

These quotes come from statements made by Albin Siwak for TRYBUNA LUDU.

Bydgoszcz Plenum Meets

LD071346 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] A plenum of the PZPR voivodship committee is taking place in Bydgoszcz. The subject of the discussion is the current political and socioeconomic situation in the voivodship and the ensuing party tasks.

The period of martial law, lasting over 3 weeks, has placed many complex problems before the voivodship party organization. At the same time it is a guage of the activity of the recently elected leadership of the branch and primary party organizations. Zenon (Zmudsinksi), secretary of the voivodship committee of the party, spoke about this in the report opening the discussion. He said that awareness of the fact that the fate of the country is in our hands is growing. The conviction that the party is not party branches or committees, but people brought together with the idea of common action and of reforming life for the benefit of the whole of society is undergoing a resurgence. A discussion began after the report. The conference is continuing.

Representatives of the allies' [sojusznicze] parties and the voivodship Military Council of National Salvation commissar are participating in the plenum.

Grzyb at Radom Meeting

LD081136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Text] The tasks of Radom Voivodship organizations in the country's current sociopolitical situation are being discussed at the plenary meeting of the voivodship party committees in Radom. The meeting is attended by PZPR Politburo member Zofia Grzyb; Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, PZPR Politburo deputy member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; and Maj Gen Mieczyslaw Urbanski, plenipotentiary of the Home Defense Committee.

Bogdan Prus, first secretary of the voivodship party committee in Radom, delivered a report. A lively discussion followed the report. The meeting is continuing.

ZSL SEJM DEPUTY INTERVIEWED ON MARTIAL LAW

LD072000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Reporter Lechoslaw Janowicz interview with ZSL Deputy Zygmunt Surowiec; date and place not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Although we are living in a state of martial law, the Sejm building is far from empty: Various Sejm commissions are holding sessions and important laws are being prepared. A session was held today by the Sejm Commission on Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice. Sejm Deputy Zygmunt Surowiec was in the chair; he is a ZSL deputy. How do the deputies assess the personal safety of the inhabitants of towns and rural areas and the issues of law and order in the state?

[Answer] We have studied the situation fairly thoroughly on the basis of information made available to us by the minister of internal affairs and the minister of justice. If one is to base oneself on this information, as well as on our own findings -- because Sejm deputies also have various contacts -- then it must be said that society, or at least its overwhelming majority, received with relief what the state of martial law has achieved. Every citizen, at least almost every citizen, has felt the effect directly on his own personal safety. Crime has decreased considerably. It is a fact beyond all dispute that the danger to individuals which one could sense in the street, at home, or in an elevator during the period prior to 13 December, fortunately has disappeared as far as society in concerned. Public life is returning to normal. Law and order are returning. The activities of the organs of law enforcement and the army deserve appreciation; so many warm words were addressed to the personnel of the army today during the commission session, and with regard to law enforcement personnel and law-and-order services. Sejm deputies spoke today about the fact that the introduction of the state of martial law in the country, together with its requirements and impositions, constitute an indispensable necessity from the point of view of an effective protection of the existence of the nation, the protection of the system and the consolidation of the socialist state, as well as recovery of the balance of the disorganized national economy. The launching of these extraordinary legal measures also stemmed the anarchy which was mounting. I would also like to say that Sejm deputies express their conviction that these efforts are aimed at reestablishing calm and at creating a wide front of national accord. The former appeals and efforts, unfortunately, as is well known, yielded no good results; they simply were wrecked and we know by the extremist antistate forces which, after all, aimed at confrontation and brought the nation closer and closer to fratricidal struggle.

[Question] The state of martial law introduced stern conditions such as summary trials by courts, and trials by military tribunals.

[Answer] Indeed, this is what is necessary in such a situation. It is well known that this is an extraordinary situation and requires the use of extraordinary measures. It is, in a sense, one could say, shock therapy. This is a procedure which is in accordance with law because such are the principles and regulations in force in this matter. They are intended, precisely, to serve the interests of the defense of society and the citizens, as well as, of course, the defense of the state.

[Question] Much attention was drawn during the session to a determined campaign against social parasitism and waste.

[Answer] Indeed. As is well known these are phenomena which appeared earlier, but in the period of disorganization which we had before 13 December, a period of anarchy which mounted to unprecedented dimensions, favorable conditions were created for those elements which wished to make a quick fortune out of the difficult situation of the country. yet now the parasitic elements such as profiteers have very limited opportunities for action.

[Janowicz] Thank you very much for this conversation.

ZBOWID MESSAGE URGES SUPPORT FOR MILITARY COUNCIL

LD072200 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan (PAP) -- A meeting of the Main Board Presidium of the Union of War Veterans (ZBOWID), an organization affiliating nearly 850,000 members, was held in Warsaw on January 7. The meeting was attended by ZBOWID Chief Council Chairman General Mieczyslaw Moczar and chaired by ZBOWID Main Board President Reserve Colonel Wlodzimierz Sokorski.

The participants in the meeting extended a message to the organization's members. The independence of our country was paid with blood and sacrifices of Polish soldiers on the battlefields of World War Two, the message says. The struggle against fascism waged by the best sons and daughters of our country, the military and moral force of the anti-fascist coalition of states with the participation of the USSR opened real perspectives for the Polish nation to cast off the yoke of slavery and embark upon the road of deep social and political transformations in an independent state.

People's Poland attained many measurable and unquestionable achievements over the past 37 years, the message goes on. It was with anxiety and fear that we met the disintegration of the state and its economy which occurred recently and which led straight to a complete decline of the Polish statehood. In such a situation, we received the introduction of martial law with full understanding. The setting up of the Martial Council of National Redemption cut off the source of anarchy and established conditions necessary for the normalization of life in our country.

Therefore, we appeal to our colleagues for your full support for the council's decisions. ZBOWID members will support every effort of the authorities of our people's state to make order rule in our country as soon as possible and let democratization processes develop undisturbed to the benefit of the country. The anxiety of our national and internal tragedy is shared by nations of the socialist community. The saying a friend in need is a friend indeed is getting full confirmation. Therefore, we express our gratitude to the Soviet Union and all the states which are providing aid for us.

Let us support our own state in that period which is so difficult for it, when its shape and future is in the process of making as well as its economic efficiency. Let us forget disputes and varying stands. Let us stand on the ground of national agreement and socialism to guarantee the return to normal conditions of freedom and democracy based on the social and political programme of the Martial Council of National Redemption, the letter of the ZBOWID authorities says.

[Warsaw PAP in English at 2046 GMT on 7 January carries a service message, killing the above item, and noting that "a new version of the item will follow soon." PAP did not carry another version of the item on its 7 January transmissions, however]

PEASANT PARTY SECRETARY DISCUSSES AGRICULTURE

LD071458 Warsaw PAP in English 1411 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan (PAP) -- Jerzy Grzybczak, the United Peasant Party CC secretary, has told PAP that under the conditions of martial law in Poland the UPP is persisting in the efforts to motivate the farmers to boost produce sales to the state outlets.

He added that the UPP regional authorities have close cooperation ties with respective army operational groups and military commissaries in actions designed to ease the problems created by winter weather.

On the current situation in agriculture Jerzy Grzybczak said that fodder shortages have produced a decrease in the livestock population but stressed that there are considerable reserves in slaughter animal procurement by the state. "We will do everything to tap these reserves without resorting to compulsory deliveries or quotas," he said.

"To intensify produce purchases, we favour the development of economic inventives, a new better system of contracts, and keeping agricultural production profitable by ensuring that the farmers incomes are not below the level registered by the other groups of employees," Grzybczak said.

The United Peasant Party also put forth a proposal to proclaim a national food loan particularly designed to boost grain deliveries.

Grzybczak also stressed that the UPP as a peasant party with more than 85-years-old tradition can and should play an important role in building a front of agreement which is indispensable to overcoming the crisis. "We believe that the more actively we join in solving the country's difficult problems, the greater will be the prestige and position of the UPP," he said.

ADDITIONS TO STATEMENT BY SOLIDARITY'S BRUNNE

The following additions to the item entitled, "Solidarity's Brunne on Martial Law, U.S. Media," published in the 7 January Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, pages G 13-15, are taken from a version of Brunne's remarks carried on Warsaw Domestic Television Service at 2125 GMT on 6 January, and provide the full text of television version of the interview:

On page G 15, delete the last three paragraphs and insert the following at the end of the first sentence of the first paragraph:

"But in any case I do not intend to carry on union activity -- which I did automatically -- right away, after hearing the news about the introduction of martial law and the suspension of trade union activity. I refused [words indistinct] Because basically that was the only sensational report to be found, at least at the beginning: So these journalists, as is only natural, ran around after me; even at the scientific conference there were attempts to do television interviews, and the orderly service in the hotel had to intervene, but I categorically refused to give any information of any kind for various reasons. I don't know if they ought all to be mentioned here.

"[Question] For instance?

"[Answer] The first was that I was not at the last session of the Solidarity National Commision [KK], I...[interrupted]

"[Question] You left on Thursday?

"[Answer] I left on Thursday. That's the first thing, and the second is that if activity is suspended that concerns me too. Thirdly, I cannot speak on behalf of the KK for two reasons. I was not at the last meeting, and secondly I submitted by resignation just before I left; I handed it over to Mr Maruszczyk, who was the deputy chairman of the Gdansk region. This was a resignation, just in case. Not in case martial law was proclaimed, but in case the KK adopted certain resolutions of a kind I could have expected following the Radom session.

"Resolutions such as, for instance: Throw out Walesa -- well that in particular is impossible to carry out, for what would the congress do? But if he were to resign the appointment of a provisional government. [sentence as heard] I think the resolution on a referendum was acknowledged by Mr Maruszczyk to be a resolution belonging to this category. So for that reason too I could not...[sentence interrupted]

["Question] You already resigned before you left?

"[Answer] I do not know if that resignation was handed in, but it bears the date of 9 or 10 December and I gave it to that gentleman with the request that if the resolutions go in (?such a) direction, then unfortunately I cannot defend such resolutions. So, in view of this let them look for someone else, and perhaps he did this, perhaps he didn't. In the feverish atmosphere of a session, he simply could have forgotten about it.

"[Question] Mr Assistant Professor, I must (?say) that this news is quite sensational. what were the other causes of your resignation?

"[Answer] I mentioned the causes there [presumably in the resignation letter]. First my state of health. I really did feel nervous and exhausted. Apart from these union duties and the duties of a Solidarity official, they forced me to take part in a large number of very stormy meetings. And those meetings -- well perhaps my character isn't very resistant -- the atmosphere of those meetings was such that all the time I sat there I was living in a state of tension. Is this the end of my career in Solidarity, and will I have to resign, or not yet? That depended on what voices there were in the discussions, what the final result was of the session, what sort of document I later had to make a comment on. Second, well that (?wouldn't) be written down there: I considered that there is simply too much internal discord within the KK. Too many people simply had personal [word indistinct] grievances with regard to others, or perhaps they were not personal, perhaps they stemmed from differences in their social and political views. The sessions often had a very [pauses] -- well, it's known, since Solidarity published a lot of excerpts from sessions in which one could see that there is a great divergence in attitudes, (?which creates) an atmosphere of nervousness. In that document I also mentioned that I simply couldn't defend certain resolutions which go way beyond the framework of union activity defined in the statute. That was how it was put. And that's all, unfortunately.

"[Question] I understand. Mr Assistant Professor, how do you see the future of the union movement in Poland? At the moment the trade unions are not functioning, they have been suspended. But in the future.

"[Answer] It's hard for me to imagine this today for I really have no sense of organization, and these matters -- how to organize a union, how to direct it -- do not really interest me. I have never done this. I once tried in the Polish Academy of Sciences, but (?that was enough), for it turned out that I'm not suited for this.

"[Question] But the place for the union in the state system, is this not a matter of organization?

"[Answer] Well I think that the position of unions in the state system, as it was defined -- I don't know if the resolution on trade unions has already been adopted or not...[sentence interrupted]

"[Question -- corrects Brunne] The law on trade unions.

"[Answer] It does not really exist yet. But I think that there will be a law sooner or later, and that will do it."

Brunne Comments

LD072206 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] On the second and third edition of the television news bulletin yesterday we broadcast an interview with the former spokesman of the NSZZ Solidarity National Commission [KK] in a shortened version and in an extensive version, since it contained full but raw material from a direct recording at the airport.

Since only the first version was authorized, we feel obliged to apologize both to our interviewee and television viewers and to explain that identically labeled recordings were mixed up. The press and radio took an interest in the authorized version and in view of this, in order to explain the mistake, we ask Assistant Prof Brunne to make a statement.

[Begin Brunne recording] The interview which was shown on the final news bulletin was the interview made on the spot at the airport. At the same time I was offered an opportunity to authorize this text, and in the course of making the authorization I decided to eliminate two passages. The first passage concerned my views on the far-reaching differences of opinion among members of the KK which are known to everyone, in Gdansk at any rate, and to the KK itself. The second passage concerned the fact known to me, but to no one else, that I submitted a conditional resignation from my post before I left for the United States. Why did I do this? I did this because so far as the first issue is concerned, although the views and facts are known, recalling them in these very difficult times we are now experiencing I considered to be greatly lacking in tact. So far as submitting my resignation is concerned, because it could not be proved, I decided to eliminate it from the text to prevent any suspicions that I made it up just to make life easier for myself on my return. This is all I have to say. I regret very much that the press and radio picked up this unauthorized version. [end recording]

Reaction to Brunne Statement

LD071940 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Adam Witold Wysocki commentary]

[Text] Western radio stations' reaction to the statement Solidarity's former press spokesman, Mr Marek Brunne, made yesterday on Polish Television have been very meagre so far. This reaction is incomparably weaker than the renown that accompanied the declarations made by other former activists of this union who remain in the West, even though the names of these people mean far less to people in Poland and the world than is the case with docent Brunne.

The point is that Marek Brunne disappointed the Western propagandists' expectations. Instead of choosing freedom in America, he chose to return to his own country. And he returned to Poland despite martial law, despite the suspension of his union's activity, and despite -- as he stressed in his television interview -- the uncertainty regarding his future fate in this country. What is more, he had the courage to term the noisy campaign that is accompanying the recent events in Poland as "hysterical."

One can see that such an attitude by an outstanding Solidarity activist does not fit very well into the stereotypes that the radio stations in question strive to lodge in the minds of their listeners. Hence the clear aversion and disfavor shown to a man who, despite a comprehensible bitterness, is capable of putting the supreme cause of the country in which he lives, in which he was brought up, in which he was educated, and with whose fortunes he feels himself linked -- for good or ill -- above his personal ambitions and aims.

However it is hard for the return of the National Commission's press spokesman or for the contents of the statement he made to Polish journalists in Warsaw to arouse enthusiasm among those Western circles which, on the one hand, proclaim their goodwill and sympathy for the Poles while, on the other hand, exploit -- especially of late -- every available occasion to inflame and embitter our internal relations, to complicate a situation that is already complex and to increase perplexity -- and not just among the millions of members of NSZZ Solidarity. The fact that this union's press spokesman, a serious scientist who is known for his moderate views, did not join in the anti-Polish chorus that abuses us for wanting to create order in our own home by using our own forces evoked consternation and later decided disappointment among the commentators of the Western radio stations as it did with the American ABC television network. However, Marek Brunne's decision did not disappoint all those who, especially in difficult moments of crisis, are simply in solidarity with Poland.

SOLIDARITY PROGRAM FOR 'CONFRONTATION OF FORCES'

LD071750 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] A document has been found in the Solidarity National Commission, marked with initials W.K., which contains the Solidarity action program in conditions of a confrontation of forces, which is the term used in the document concerned. The initial assumption is as follows, and I quote: The conflict between the PZPR and the democratic opposition and trade unions must lead to a confrontations of forces. In order to implement the objective, that is, that victory must be ours -- the document concludes -- the following action is proposed: introducing into the union representatives of opposition parties, and especially KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and ROPCID [Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights] in the event of the proclamation of a state of emergency to prevent the transmission of radio and television programs and publications of the party press; in the event of telephones being switched off it is proposed factory commissions should organize their own channels of communications such as short-wave radio, messengers, and so on; in order to disorganize transportation it is recommended to block junctions and to use special spikes against motor vehicles used by those on the side of the government -- to use the term employed in the document; it is recommended to exploit for propaganda purposes the gathering of people for Sunday services in church; it is regarded as expedient to block the movement of troops by the erection of suitable barricades, the use of bottles filled with gasoline and the capture of weapons; the final paragraph contains a statement that efforts must be made to obtain assistance with the provision of arms from the United States, France and Great Britain.

This seems to be yet more evidence who it was who, in fact, sought confrontation in our country.

COVERAGE OF INTERNMENTS, TRIALS, SENTENCES

Sentences of Solidarity Members

LD072356 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2159 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] The press spokesman at the Ministry of Justice reported that yesterday the prosecutor's office sent to the civil courts another 24 cases under summary proceedings against 33 offenders. In the voivodship courts' sentences were passed on cases dealing with crimes against the legal order during the war [w okresie wojennym].

Among others, the Gorzow Wielkopolski Voivodship Court has sentenced under summary proceedings the following NSZZ Solidarity members for organizing an interfactory committee in the town and a sit-in strike at the "Ursus" mechanical works in Gonzo Wielkopolski: Tadeusz Kolodziejski, the vice chairman of Solidarity's regional executive, to 5 years in prison; Ryszard Sawicki and Adam Opiela to 4 years in prison; and Norbet Lis, Zygmunt Stzelczyk, Radoslaw Lotocka and Stanislaw Gajda to 3 years in prison each. The court also passed additional penalties of the loss of public rights for 3- and 2-year periods.

Continuing Trial of TV Chief

LD072136 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan (PAP) -- The trial of the former top management of the Committee for Radio and Television, including ex-chief of the committee Maciej Szczepanski, continued today before the Warsaw Voivodship Court.

During today's session the court dealt with the funds spent on foreign business travel undertaken by these top executives and the illegal financing from the committee's fund for sports organisations.

Public prosecutors Andrzej Arzeniewski and Ryszard Rychlik devoted much attention to the production of the film "Sherlock Holmes and Dr Watson" which brought the Polish side immense losses. It has been established during investigation that in 1978 the then Polish radio and TV correspondent in London Wojciech Kornacki introduced to Maciej Szczepanski a Mr Sheldon Reynolds as an expert with broad contacts in the film business.

Reynolds told Szczepanski that he had the exclusive rights to filming celebrities from Conan Doyle's novels. The contract which was prepared contained no provisions to protect the interests of the Polish side. Consequently, instead of gaining profits from the sale of the film to Western countries, the Polish side sustained heavy losses.

Conditions of Internees

LD080012 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] The state of security in the country and the state of public order provided the main subject of the meeting of the Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice which met under the chairmanship of Zygmunt Surowiec. Part of the session was attended by Speaker of the Sejm Stanislaw Guowa. A report was delivered by First Vice Minister for Internal Affairs Boguslaw Stachura. To begin, he informed the deputies that peace was reigning throughout the country. He also said, among other things:

The leadership of the state, especially since February 1981, made many attempts to prevent the dangerous trends which became apparent alongside the post-August renewal. Despite economic difficulties, the authorities undertook efforts aimed at improving public supplies. The destructive activities of the extremists sought to paralyze these initiatives. In the first 10 days of December the spectre of civil war began to emerge with force. The 10-12 December meeting of the Solidarity National Commission left no illusions as to the intentions of the enemy. The country faced the threat of a general strike as well as the danger of people being brought onto the streets on the anniversary of the events of December 1970. Minister Stachura then said that the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in accordance with a decision of the Military Council of National Salvation after the introduction of the state of martial law, began the implementation of the tasks that followed.

People were interned who, in view of the way in which they had behaved hitherto and of whom there existed justified suspicions that, remaining free, they would conduct activities jeopardizing the interests of the security and the defense potential of the state. Altogether 5,906 people were interned. In 839 cases the decision of internment was rescinded. Four centers were set up for the interned, including women and older people, on the basis of rest homes where a considerable freedom of movement was provided together with opportunities for organizing cultural activities. In view of the existing infrastructure, the majority of the centers were set up by the necessary adaptation of penal establishments of the Ministry of Justice; yet even there, regulations were altered so as to ensure greater freedom for the internees. The internment centers are being visited by representatives of the Polish Red Cross, headed by Primate Glemp and Cardinal Macharski and representatives of the church will visit almost all the centers at their discretion. [sentence as heard] At present, a total of 5,067 people remain in the internment centers. Vice Minister Stachura staed further that in the first few days of the state of martial law, strike action or attempts at organizing strike action were noted at 199 enterprises and establishments. This action was organized by extremists, activists of Solidarity or by counterrevolutionary elements, such as the Confederation for and Independent Poland. An especially intense strike action was noted in the following voivodships: Katowice, Gdansk, Szczecin, Warsaw, Wroclaw, Lublin and Gorzow. In a dozen or so places it was necessary to use means of direct coercion. Action by militia and troops, aimed at unblocking the sections of the workforce affected by the strikes, was conducted at, among other places, the Ursus works, the Lenin foundry, the Katowice foundry, the Warszawa foundry, the Warski shipyard, the Lenin shipyard, the Gdansk refinery, the nitrate works in Pulawy and the Staszic colliery. The vice minister pointed out that, in general, only up to 10 percent of the workforce took part in strike action; and even that part of the workforce participated in the strikes under the strong pressure of the extremists.

The most dramatic event, as is well known, occured at the Wujek mine where several hundred people armed with axes, chains, red hot metal rods, gases and explosives attacked the personnel of the Citizen's Militia.

The militiamen, facing a determined attack and not wishing the tragedy to happen, began to withdraw but they were surrounded. A situation arose in which a massacre was threatened. The militia personnel, facing danger to their own lives, were forced to use firearms. Six miners perished among the attackers and two died in a hospital. A total of 49 were injured, including 4 who received severe wounds. A total of 41 members of the militia personnel received injuries.

On 16 and 17 December, in Gdansk -- and to a lesser extent in Lodz and Warsaw -- the forces of law and order were compelled to disperse gatherings and rallies. In Gdansk, in view of the resistance and considerable aggressiveness on the part of the demonstrators, there arose the need for direct coercion. Altogether, in the course of action taken so far, six persons have been killed and three have died. [sentence as heard] In the light of the evidence obtained, Vice Minister Stachura said, and on the basis of the opinion in numerous public circles, the action taken was fully justified. The enemy, including extremist leaders in some regions of Solidarity, had been preparing for a confrontation in force setting up strong-arm gangs and gathering resources for combat. The information available shows that part of the nation has accepted the introduction of the state of martial law with approval and the decisive majority has accepted it with understanding, although the orders and bans deriving from the state of martial law are being received as a considerable hardship. The duration of the tormenting atmosphere has been brought to an end. Society sighed with relief. There has been a clear decline in the incidence of serious crime. The dimensions of economic offenses have been considerably reduced.

Vice Minister Stachura also said that it is possible even today to sum up preliminarily some of the effects of the introduction of martial law:

1. Enterprises are working normally; for the first time since July 1981 there are no strikes in Poland.

2. The state of public safety has definitely improved and the sense of public security has increased.

3. Despite winter problems and difficulties in communications a clear improvement in the observance of order in numerous spheres has been noted.

4. The supply of market goods has improved.

All this creates favorable premises for an improvement in the situation, including the economic position in 1982.

In conclusion, the vice minister for internal affairs stated that the state of martial law should be used to involve the whole nation in a normal rate of work and in the shaping of its responsibility for the country's further favorable development.

Next to speak was Vice Minister of Justice Tadeusz Skora. He said that the most essential difference between the treatment of the internees and that of those temporarily arrested or convicted -- in favour of the former -- is to be found in everyday facilities. For instance, all the internees are receiving food, whose nutritional value is worth at least 2,600 calories daily. In addition, they may purchase once a month articles of food and tobacco for a quota of approxmiately Z840; they may also receive two parcels weighing up to 3 kg. On medical recommendations an internee may receive a third parcel, 3 kg in weight, each month. All internees are entitled to an unrestricted amount of mail, to 1 hour's walk in the open air without the restriction of the right to converse and to one monthly meeting with their family. As of 5 January the internees used the opportunities of meeting with families on 5,200 occasions. They received 7,900 parcels from their families and more than 1,000 from the church. A total of 112 masses has been said for them.

Next, matters connected with the function of the administration of justice were referred by by Prosecutor General Franciszek Rusek.

A debate followed in which many deputies took part. The conclusions of the debate were incorporated in a resolution adopted with three abstentions by the commission which states that the introduction of the state of martial law in the country, its strictures and requirements, is a basic necessity for the effective protection of the existence of the nation, of the system, for the consolidation of the socialist state and for restoring the balance of a disorganized national economy. The adoption of these extraordinary legal measures has also stemmed the anarchy which had recently been mounting.

It was stressed, the document continues, that the efforts aimed at restoring calm and at creating a broad front of national accord were subjected to attempts to frustrate them. The Sejm stated on several occasions that the vital interests of the nation and of the state were being jeopardized. The appeals that were launched were not respected. In the situation that ensured the only way to ensure the peace and security of the state and the citizens lay in the use of extraordinary means.

The commission states that in the new conditions the armed forces and the organs of public order are fulfilling their tasks in exemplary manner. The attitude of the vast majority of society deserves the highest appreciation; this attitude is expressed in the understanding of the paramount interests of the state and the nation, in the considerable improvement in labor discipline and in every day conduct.

The commission expresses its conviction that the action launched will well serve the socialist renewal, the continuation of social and economic reforms, the consolidation of law and order and the public good in its widest interpretation.

Strikers' Sentences Commuted

LD080130 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Text] The penal regulations of the martial law decree envisage the possibility of penalties being commuted in exceptional cases regarding offenders who, actively repenting, voluntarily withdrew from a strike or protest action and tried to bring the remaining participants in such activity to do this also. Applying these regulations, the Lodz Voivodship Court has sentenced under summary procedure Mieczyslaw (Bednarski) to 3 years in prison and deprived him of his public rights for 3 years. Bogadan (Idzikowski) and Ryszard (Kosmala) were sentenced to 1 year in prison and were deprived of their public rights for 2 years. The court applied the exceptional commuting of a penalty to Bogdan (Idziksowski) and Ryszard (Kosmala) after establishing that the perpetrators voluntarily withdrew from a strike and tried to convince the remaining participants in the strike to abandon it.

'Criminals' Sentenced

LD080242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Text] Verdicts against those perpetrating criminal offenses against the safety of citizens and their property and against the activities of insitutions and bodies responsible for public calm and order constitute a large part of the verdicts passed by voivodship courts under summary procedure.

Among others, the Katowice Voivodship has sentenced the following for burglaries and thefts which are committed mainly by habitual offenders: Alojzy (Glowacki) has been given 6 years' imprisonment and Erik (Manherek) has been given a sentence of 5 years' imprisonment. Each has been fined Z20,000 and has been deprived of public rights for 3 years. The Lublin Voivodship Court has sentenced Ryszard (Grudzinkiewicz) to 6 years' imprisonment, to a fine of Z15,000 and has deprived him of his public rights for 5 years.

MINISTRY DISCUSSES CONTINUING FOOD SHORTAGES

Komender Chairs Meeting

LD071844 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] A meeting was held today in the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services under the chairmanship of Minister Zenon Komender. The session was devoted to market supplies in January and February. It was stated that supplies of first priority items, including among others meat, fats and fish, will continue to be insufficient. Difficulties will be lessened by supplies of food from the socialist countries and by purchases from certain capitalist countries, using the hard-currency resources of Powex [foreign currency stores]. During the session, the need was stressed for strict observation of the principles for the distribution of goods subject to rationing, and of a further streamlining of the system of their sale.

Insufficient Grain Purchases

LD080508 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Excerpt] At present grain purchases are simply quite insufficient. They amount to 250-300 tons daily. Farmers so far have failed to sell even half the amount they contracted for to the state. At the same time everything points to the fact that there is grain in the countryside. Last year's harvest came to about 20 million tons. Even if we assume some error in this estimate, there is in any case lots of grain.

Prof Boleslaw (Turzyk) assesses that the grain harvest at private farms in 1981 was similar to the 1978 harvest. In the latter year purchasing from private farms amounted to 3.14 million tons. At present this figure is barely 1 million.

Sugar Production Figures

LD071446 Warsaw PAP in English 1407 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan (PAP) -- It is estimated that a record high figure of 1,700,000 tons of sugar will be manufactured by Polish sugar industry when it ends its sugar beets processing campaign late this January.

Since September 5, 1981 until now the Polish sugar plants have already produced 1,685,000 tons of sugar i.e., by 600,000 tons more than the entire production of the previous year.

Such good results in sugar production have been attained owing to the high yields of sugar beets and efficient organization of work in sugar industry.

Though the current supply of sugar is sufficient to fully meet the domestic demand, the rationing of sugar will stay in effect in view of the necessity to replenish sugar stocks.

PRICE INCREASES OF SOME LOT AIR FARES REPORTED

LD071452 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Vice Minister of Transportation Jan Raczkowski has told a PAP correspondent that despite martial law in our country various contacts must be maintained for the normal functioning of the economy. This is made easier by air. If it appears that demand is greater, the number of flights will be increased. However, flights must be profitable, he said. Due to the fact that supply prices went up at the start of the year, we must increase the price of tickets. Thus the flight from Warsaw to Gdansk will cost Z890 instead of Z500; to Krakow Z830; to Wroclaw Z980, and to Szczecin Z1,280.

By increasing the price of tickets LOT has no intention of making a profit, but only to prevent the growth of the existing deficit, the minister said.

REPORTAGE ON INTERNAL CONDITIONS, WORK STATUS

Coal Extraction Normal

LD071044 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] The hard coal miners are still working well. According to the Ministry of Mining and Power Industry, yesterday's extraction of this raw material came to 624,920 tons. This is 276 tons less than on Tuesday, when results not noted for a few months were achieved.

Minister on Fuel Rationing

LD072102 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] The decision by the minister of transportation on the suspending of his decree came into force on 1 January until further notice.

The decree provides for the repayment of costs for the use of private cars for duty purposes by workers employed in the state administration and in establishments of the socialized economy. This decision results from the need to economize on fuel.

The suspension of the right to claim these costs does not apply to persons working in certain trades such as doctors and veterinary surgeons, employees of local agricultural and forestry services, postmen, press distributors and other employees of essential technical services in communications, journalists and press, radio and television editors, executive officers in towns and parishes and, in addition, employees from the socialized economy establishments who render services to the population or units of the socialized economy.

In connection with the recent increases in fuel prices beginning 1 January, the minister of transportation, in an agreement with the ministers of finance and administration, local economy and environment protection, has introduced by another decree, new rates for the repayment of costs for the use of one's own vehicle for official purposes. At present the amount per kilometer: for a sedan, Z4.5; for a motorcycle, Z1.8; and for a moped Z1.2.

The decree has been published in the official GAZETTE No 33 on 31 December 1981.

Fuel Supplies Adequate

LD071524 Warsaw PAP in English 1416 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan (PAP) -- Last night, temperature fell to 14 degrees centigrade below zero here.

All Polish factories operate normally, although they have to cope with shortages of intermediate and raw materials. Municipal and other road transport services have become less regular than in the recent days, because icy roads slow them down.

Heat and power generating plants are supplying the required quantities of energy and report to have sufficient stocks of coal and [word indistinct].

Coal miners' performance continues to be promising with the January 6th daily total amounting to 624,920 tonnes of coal, or only 276 tonnes less than on the previous record day in many [word indistinct].

Since early morning today, continued snowfalls and strong winds have been reported throughout Poland. The most seriously affected is road and rail transport in northern Poland, in the entire strip between Szczecin and Bialystock.

In the Gdansk Voivodship, 4 sections of the 1st priority roads along the length of 83 kilometers were reported this morning to be blocked by snowdrifts, as was the circle highway around the tri-city of Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot.

As regards second-priority roads, 31 trenches altogether 450 kilometres long were reported impassable. Snow blocked almost 400 sections of third-pirority roads along the length of 4,900 kilometres.

Similar troubles occur on railroads. A few trains got stuck in snow on the Gydnia-Wejherowo-Slupsk line and near Suwalki.

Since last night snow clearance teams have not abated in their efforts to minimize the traffic problems cuased by snowdrifts.

Flood Damage in Many Areas

LD072200 Warsaw PAP in English 2005 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan (PAP) -- A cold snap accompanied by heavy snowfalls in its initial stage, especially in northern Poland did not significantly improve the flood situation. Although flood waters rise was stopped in rivers, many of which are frozen, the danger increased on the part of ice-jams which cause local water rises. Apart from regular services the flood action was joined by soldiers.

The most troublesome is still the Bug River and its tributaries, the Middle Warta River with its basin, the Notec River and many smaller rivers in central Poland. Recently in the Sieradz Voivodship, a dam on the Ner River was broken in several places. At the beginning, twelve farmsteads were evacuated, but it proved necessary to expand that action. In the Kalisz Voivodship the overflowing waters of the Prosna River flooded a lower part of the city of Kalisz. The property of four enterprises had to be secured, and two industrial plants stopped working.

Before the cold snap, an ice-breaking operation was successfully completed on the Lower Odra River. Strong winds from the north, however, caused a rise of water level from Gryfino to Swinoujscie.

In the Slupsk Voivodship and in the capital of the region, water pertained to some houses and basements.

A very difficult situation remains in the area of the Bug River, and especially in the Ostroleka Voivodship. In that region waters flooded about 26 thousand hectares of arable land, including 11 thousand hectares in the Bug valley. 160 farms were flooded or threatened with flood in those areas. Those farms which were in danger of flood were being evacuated yesterday. Military units using heavy equipment participate in the operation.

Small rivers caused much trouble in the Kielce Voivodship, where in the locality of Trzcianka on the Bobrza River six families had to be evacuated, and also in the capital voivodship of Warsaw where single fmailies were evacuated. Also in the Skierniewice Voivodship flood alert is still on in several towns and communes situated in the Bzura and Vistula Rivers areas. Damages were recorded in Lowicz and Sochaczew.

All necessary aid is provided for 20 evacuated families in the Elblag Voivodship where waters flooded about 10 thousand hectares of arable land and partially flooded another 20 hectares.

Private Cars Banned Due to Snow

LD072208 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] As a result of the continually deteroirating road situation in the voivodship, the Gdansk voivoda has banned beginning tomorrow, 8 January, the use of any kind of private passenger cars.

These have been falling into snowdrifts and blocking the road for snowplows and delivery vans. High alert has also been introduced in all hospitals and in six breakdown services.

CZYREK INTERVIEWED ON STATUS OF FOREIGN POLICY

AU081022 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Dec 81 - 1 Jan 82 pp 1,8

[Adam Stanek interview with Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member, Central Committee secretary and minister of foreign affairs: "Poland Is Faithful to Traditional Policy of Peace" -- date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] In his speech proclaiming martial law Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski said that we must put an end to the further degradation of our state's international position. Comrade Minister, what are the main tasks you see for our foreign policy in strengthening Poland's position in the world?

[Answer] The present top task of our foreign policy is to ensure the most favorable external political and economic conditions for our efforts to overcome the crisis in Poland by our own exertions. What General Jaruzelski called the foundation of the Polish raison d'etat and the guarantee of the inviolability of our borders is of special significance for implementing that task. It is the inviolate Polish-Soviet alliance and Poland's friendship and comprehensive cooperation with the USSR. The issue is to rebuild and consolidate our place and our role as a permanent element of the political-defense alliance of the Warsaw Pact states and to rebuild and consolidate our active partnership in the economic cooperation among socialist states -- unilateral and multilateral cooperation with CEMA. Efforts to strengthen the Polish-Soviet alliance and to strengthen our position among the socialist states -- this position has been weakened by our failure to honor our economic obligations and by other factors -- are the basic premises for implementing the main task of our work to create the most favorable conditions for overcoming the crisis.

We must also bear in mind that Poland's role and place in the Warsaw Pact defense system and in the system of cooperation among the socialist states is an important factor in the international balance of power and in the system of the equilibrium that is the foundation of the present security system in Europe.

In this sense the efforts to strengthen Poland's role and place in the community of the socialist states represent the efforts to strengthen the international security system, including, of course, our country's security. All our actions in favor of normalizing and stabilizing the situation in Poland and all our efforts to enhance our place and importance in the community of the socialist states amount in fact to actions and efforts to stabilize and strengthen peaceful relations in Europe and in the global East-West relations.

We can say in a nutshell: Poland needs internal calm and external peace. External peace is a must if we are to solve our internal Polish problems. Acting in favor of peace, we contribute to the peaceful development of international relations.

[Question] This means developing our foreign policy through overcoming our own crisis....

[Answer] In a way, yes. After all, the effectiveness of foreign policy also depends on the state's internal condition and on its ability to solve its own problems. We are fully aware of the historical significance of the time Poland is now going through and of the task that the present day is posing for us. As General Jaruzelski said in his 13 December speech, "We are but a drop in the ocean of Polish history." We draw conclusions from our difficult and complicated history -- from the periods when Poland was in disarray and therefore a pawn in international games and when it lost its existence as a state. We cannot afford any weakening of our state existence in this present international situation, which is so complicated.

Great Importance of Cooperation With USSR

[Question] Is not our economic weakness an obstacle to rebuilding our position?

[Answer] Yes, this is true. We are now economically weak, but our ability to snatch ourselves out of the crisis harrying us will in the final reckoning determine our position. And at this most difficult moment we can see who really wants to help us. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of Poland's economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA countries. We must also bear in mind the great role of their emergency assistance in the present situation. It is worth realizing that meeting the basic material and energy needs of Poland is of fundamental significance for the functioning of our economy and thus for ensuring jobs for millions and millions of people and for satisfying the vital needs of our community.

As regard our foreign policy, at present we must pay maximum attention to and exploit internal and external conditions. Assuming the enormous and complicated stabilizing and normalizing efforts within the country, we are not weakening our activities in the field of foreign relations. We are doing this for the sake of continuing and promoting our traditional policy of dialogue, detente and cooperation with all the states -- especially European states -- and with all political forces, with which we shared and continue to share solicitude for a peaceful development of Europe and the world. I can say that in the recent months our diplomatic activities and contacts with ambassadors and other foreign representatives in Poland not only have not decreased, but have even increased.

We make no secret of the fact that some of the actions we have taken in the past few months in the field of foreign relations, including actions at the political level and through diplomatic channels, have been aimed at finding the ways of solving our difficulties, especially payment difficulties. I wish this to be properly understood. We do not want to increase our indebtedness and to live at someone else's expense. We seek to ensure through economic contacts and cooperation that the present potential of our economy can be used and to regain and maintain our place in the international division of labor and our position in international economic cooperation.

Responsibility for the People's Fate

[Question] Comrade Minister, how do you evaluate the foreign countries' reaction to the introduction of martial law in Poland?

[Answer] I must stress first of all that the State Council introduced martial law in complete agreement with the enactments of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. It was a measure dictated by a higher necessity because our country was sliding inevitably toward the danger of confrontation and fratricidal civil war. It was necessary to prevent that, simply to save the Polish state....

[Question] Some people in the West have spread the view that our authorities acted by proxy....

[Answer] These are absurd insinuations. Order in our own house is our own internal affair. Sovereign measures were taken out of responsibility for the people's and the country's fates, in defense of Poland's most vital interests and in the name of protecting our people against the confrontation and tragedy threatening them. The thing is that the Western countries have reacted differently to the introduction of martial law, depending on to what extent a given country appreciates the significance of the stabilization of the situation in Poland for Europe's peaceful condition and to what extent it respects the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of other states. This is the basic principle of international coexistence. Aside from exceptions, the reaction in question has been realistic and considered. Most West European countries have shown understanding for what is happening in our country. Most of the Third World countries have taken a position full of understanding and sympathy.

The U.S. administration has adopted a most relentless attitude. As you know, the U.S. President has ordered measures to make our economic situation more difficult. We have heard of the attempts to dictate to us how to govern our own country. In this connection I would like to state that Poland wants to maintain equal relations with all states, but it will never agree to interference in its own internal affairs.

I will repeat here what I said at the Ninth PZPR Congress -- my speech was published by TRYBUNA LUDU: We will not let Poland to be thrown onto the pile of confrontation in the struggle to change the East-West balance of power.

It is obvious that the socialist states have shown complete understanding and support for our efforts to achieve stabilization. In particular, this support is expressed by economic measures resulting from interstate agreements and by ad hoc disinterested assistance. The gifts sent in by the peoples in the fraternal countries in the period before Christmas symbolize our friendship.

[Question] Poland becomes a member of the Security Council as of 1 January 1982. How far can we take advantage of this in the interest of our foreign policy?

[Answer] Participating in the Security Council's work will enable Poland to make an even more active and specific contribution to solving the contemporary world's most burning problems included on the council's agenda. It will also increase our opportunities for militant activities and for strengthening our international position. As a member of the Security Council, Poland will act in line with the interests of peace in order to relax international tensions and conflicts and to extinguish hotbeds. Such activities are in the interest of nations and in our own interest.

[Question] The Bucharest session of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers expressed the conviction that if all the participants in the Madrid meeting show the necessary political resolve and realism, agreement will be achieved on convening a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. Could this conference be held in 1982?

[Answer] It is fully feasible that the Madrid meeting will end in success in the first months of 1982. A decision to prepare the conference in question would signify such a success. Cooperating with its socialist allies and friend, Poland will do its best to make this a reality. We continue to attach great importance to this conference and we will make every effort to have it convened. We will also make a specific and constructive contribution to it when the conference gets underway.

[Question] Did the Gromyko-Haig New York talks and the present Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva herald a possibility for reconstituting the East-West dialogue?

[Answer] The Geneva negotiations and the high level contacts between the USSR and the United States are no doubt a highly positive element of the extremely far-reaching significance for reconstituting the East-West dialogue. Everyone agrees that it is obvious that such a dialogue is in the interest of all nations and states in the East and in the West. Needless to say, it is also in the interest of our people and our country, which is in particular need of external and internal peace. That is why we fully support Soviet initiatives on detente and disarmament, which seek to reconstitute the Soviet-American dialogue, which plays the basic role in East-West relations.

Poland will be faithful to its traditional policy of peace and mutual cooperation among nations. We repeat this with might and main now, at this difficult period our country is experiencing. I would like to cite Army Gen W. Jaruzelski's words addressed to the entire world opinion: "We appeal for tolerance for the exceptional conditions that have arisen in Poland and for the extraordinary measures that have proved necessary. It is our wish that the word 'Poland' always inspires respect and sympathy in Europe and the world."

FRG'S GENSCHER REITERATES NONINTERFERENCE

LD071820 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 7 Jan 82

[By PAP correspondent Juliusz Solecki]

[Text] Bonn, 7 Jan (PAP) -- Speaking after his return from Washington at the annual (?meeting of his party) in Stuttgart on Wednesday the FDP chairman and Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher declared that the FRG is determined to hold to its stand of noninterference in Poland's internal affairs. He also said that the Federal Republic was ready, jointly with its partners, to extend further sizable financial aid to Poland "returning on the road of reforms."

ITALIAN PRIEST ON DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN AID

LD072248 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Father Giovanni Merve, vice president of the Italian Caritas organization, who is back in Rome after a few days stay in Poland, has told journalists at the airport that contrary to reports in the Western press the Polish authorities are in fact providing facilities for the Polish church's work in the distribution of foreign aid. The vice president of the Italian Caritas spoke with immense appreciation about the organizational preparation of the church in Poland for tasks related to the distribution of gifts such as food and medicines arriving from Italy and other countries of the world, among the most needy families.

STAND ADOPTED BY EEC ON POLISH EVENTS REPORTED

LD072236 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] In connection with the stand adopted by the foreign ministers of the ten member countries of the EEC at their meeting in Brussels on 4 January which was devoted to relations with Poland, PAP states:

Relations between sovereign states, including economic relations, should be based on generally accepted rules and especially on the principles determined in the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation. Any attempt to influence, by means of these relations, the development of the internal situation in our country is contrary to the above-mentioned principles and constitutes interference in our internal affairs. Poland is ready to continue to develop relations based on equal rights as well as mutually advantageous cooperation with member-countries of the EEC. Just as with other countries, in conditions of a strict and reciprocal observance of the generally accepted principles of relations among states, including the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of another country.

The Brussels communique announces, among other things, the launching of steps aimed at an earlier beginning of the Madrid meeting of representatives of the states which are signatories to the final act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, to deal with the situation in Poland. This initiative can only make the course of the meeting more difficult. The Polish delegation will set out for Madrid at the time planned but not to discuss the internal affairs of other countries or the internal affairs of Poland. Our objective has been and still is to consolidate the process of detente, security and cooperation in Europe. It is also necessary to express surprise that the legal and sovereign decisions of the Polish authorities, aimed at solving our problems with our own resources and at preventing the transformation of Poland into an element of tension in Europe, are regarded by the EEC countries in the context of their relations with a third power. The intensive development of relations between non-European countries -- including economic and scientific-technical cooperation -- constitutes an essential ingredient of the infrastructure of detente and peace in Europe. As far as we are concerned, we are ready to continue them and to develop them in the common interest of peaceful coexistence and cooperation of European countries, says PAP.

TRYBUNA LUDU ANALYZES NZS POLITICAL ACTS

LD080824 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Text] This was not a game but politics, says TRYBUNA LUDU analyzing the various political acts at educational establishments and schools [word indistinct] by the Independent Students' Association [NZS] or the acts inspired by this organization. One could turn a blind eye to some of the ideas of students and pupils seeing them as an expression of a certain immaturity of youth but behind these ideas there was, TRYBUNA LUDU justifies, the political instigation of NZS and Solidarity. This was an attempt to set pupils off against teachers, to develop a pupils' community, an attempt to organize protest movements and even strike movements -- in other words an attempt to bring about various kinds of conflicts and unease. In a word, this was not a game but politics.

TRENDS IN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT DISCUSSED

LD071130 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan (PAP) -- ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI publishes an article by Wieslaw Rogowski entitled "There Is Room for Everyone" which is devoted to the problemmatics of the Polish trade union movement's three different trends. The author writes that two of the three -- the Industrial Branch and Autonomous Trade Unions -- have, while maintaining their concern for the independence and self-management of their organizations, defined clearly and unequivocally their nature and their positive attitude to the socialist system and state. However, Solidarity in spite of inserting a declaration to the same effect in the appendix to its charter, did in fact eschew its confirmation and eventually rejected it in practice, directing its actions increasingly against the authorities and their proposals for reform and the system of negotiations.

It is a sign of hope for the mass of Solidarity members that the loud and aggressive system of politics that was foisted on this organization as a result of the radicals' hostility to socialism, turned out to be nothing more than a thin layer of froth on a glass of healthy and nutritious milk.

The genuinely present worker's movement, which was sensible and conscious of its civic duties, found it impossible to get its voice heard in such conditions. The loud propaganda, full of slander and lies, drove many into a state of confusion, sapping the will to work in others. The time has come for the patriotic and class groupings in Solidarity to set the tone.

While we have martial law, the trade unions cannot as yet resume their activities. But we should and we are dutybound, the author writes, to ponder, analyze and investigate the source of all the distortions and all the reasons that brought to the fore people who, using the strength, will and disorientation of the masses, pursued their own goals which ran counter to the goals of the rank-and-file members.

Our future rests on the possibility of achieving national accord and on finding some sort of compromise between the still differing aspirations and ideas and the supreme public interest. All three trends in the Polish trade union movement can exist in this system of interaction, of the mutual creation of values and the overcoming of the enormous obstacles and difficulties of life, and can operate in the socialist system, fully respecting its principles and in the interests of everyone.

SOLIDARITY'S CURRENT FOREIGN ACTIVITIES CITED

LD080720 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0638 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Text] Colonel Zielinski continues his analysis of the foreign activities of Solidarity in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI. It looks as if shortly two and perhaps three so-called Polish governments will be operating abroad. At any rate one government -- not recognized officially by anyone -- has been operating in London for more than 37 years now.

Solidarity activists are demanding that a second be created. These activists just so happened to be on foreign trips on 13 December. They all converged on Switzerland and on 22 December in Zurich they set up a Solidarity Coordination Commission. The commission demanded, among others, the need to create a government in exile. A group of agents of the Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN] -- residing in various Western countries allegedly has the intention of setting up a third government. The ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI article which analyzes the foreign activities of Solidarity is entitled "In the Service of Subversion."

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI PROFILES ONYSZKIEWICZ

LD080820 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Text] In an article from the series "Solidarity Men of Prominence," ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI presents today an profile of Janusz Onyszkiewicz who became a more public figure after he assumed the post of press spokesman of the Solidarity KKP [National Consultative Commission]. The publicist points to his activities both on a national and international level. Part of the article is devoted to an assessment of the press and publications run by Solidarity but which were directed by Onyszkiewicz. Lies and fabrications were the order of the day here. Today (?we know) that Onyszkiewicz and his trusted men here so keen to accuse others of lies in order to try to -- precisely thanks to this method -- cover up their own notoriously committed lies. The article is entitled "In Cold Calculation."

TRYBUNA LUDU CITES NEED FOR PZPR CONSOLIDATION

'Purification of Party Ranks'

LD080936 Warsaw PAP in English 0830 GMT 8 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Jan (PAP) -- TRYBUNA LUDU carried an article headlined "Need for Consolidation". The paper said inter alia:

"Without consolidation of the party functioning strictly to the teaching of Marxism and Leninism, it will be impossible to lead Poland out onto the path of socialist renewal, improve the economy and thereby put an end to the crisis. One condition of consolidation is the purging of party ranks from people with alien ideological and political convictions, careerists and cynical gamblers, and also allowing those who entered the party by accident and have never felt themselves communists to leave the party peacefully. This is a necessary [words indistinct] though it is going to be difficult and perhaps painful. This is why the process should be not only swift but also principled and just, without harming anybody but showing no leniency as well."

"Purification of party ranks should be a thorough process. As a result of cadres verification and parallel ideological, educational and political activities, the party image will become totally different party because it will again be sustained there by pure ideals which lay at its founding in the years of Nazi occupation and later on gave it strength needed for rebuilding of the country and, last but not least, allowed for the creation of ethical and material foundations of the vision of a just socialist society."

"It will be a party enriched by the knowledge of its own serious mistakes, by striving to restore lustre to its ideas, and the realisation that directing the society does not mean managing it but it means joint creation with the society, the sharing of sacrifices and achievements of success," said the daily in conclusion.

Party Support for WRON

LD080632 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Text] The party lends support through its political activities to the actions of the WRON [Military Council for National Salvation]. In an article thus entitled TRYBUNA LUDU points out in its leading column that the tasks of the party in conditions of martial law are being perceived with increasing clarity and precision by echelons, organizations and the party aktivs. These tasks are based above all on turning attention to social needs and on undertaking frank dialogue in working communities.

'Antisocialist Opposition'

AU071318 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jan 82 p 3

[Anna Pawlowska article: "What Next?" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE TIME AROUND A NEW YEAR INDUCES ONE TO DRAW UP BALANCE SHEETS AND MORE THAN THAT: IT TEMPTS ONE TO VENTURE INTO THE FUTURE. AS A NEW YEAR APPROACHES EACH ONE OF US NO DOUBT MAKES RESOLUTIONS AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER NOT TO DO SOME THINGS OR TO DO SOME THINGS FOR SURE.... PERHAPS KEEPING SUCH RESOLUTIONS IS NOT ALWAYS THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE: IT IS ENOUGH AT TIMES THAT THEY MAKE US AWARE OF OUR WISHES, NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS.

THE COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL BALANCE SHEET OF THE PAST MONTHS IS ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT ON THE THRESHOLD OF 1982. IT IS JUST AS DIFFICULT TO SUMMON ENOUGH COURAGE TO LOOK INTO THE FUTURE AND TO ASK WHAT WILL BE, WHAT MAY BE AND WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN NEXT.

I do not know whether at the juncture we have arrived at -- during yet another week of martial law, which stopped the breathtaking screening of our tragic national movie -- it is at all possible to subject the search for an answer to such a question to a rational methodology or whether this search has to be an exclusively intuitive fashioning of our own fears and wishes. No doubt it is worth posing questions even if this is so.

How to Tread the Chosen Road

In the past few months we have had people who have continued to surrender their party cards in protest against the party's too severe a line and we have had people who have done so because the party's line was too soft. The Central Committee continued to receive resolutions stating: "You are deviating from the August line" and "you are allowing counterrevolution to run riot." Extreme positions within the party continued to be very far removed from one another.

HOWEVER, THE IDEA OF NATIONAL AGREEMENT HAS BEEN APPROVED BY A TREMENDOUS MAJORITY OF PARTY MEMBERS AS A CHANCE OF SAVING SOCIALIST RENEWAL, AS A PLANE FOR IMPLEMENTING A DEMOCRACY THAT IS MAXIMALLY BROAD, BUT THAT DOES NOT VIOLATE THE FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL PRINCIPLES, AND AS A GENUINE CONTINUATION OF THE NINTH CONGRESS. THE PARTY, WHICH WAS INTERNALLY CONSOLIDATING ON THE BASIS OF THE FOURTH PLENUM RESOLUTION AND WHICH HONESTLY OFFERED TO ALL THE PEOPLE A CONCEPT OF AGREEMENT -- THIS WAS WHAT WE WANTED OUR FUTURE TO BE WITH ALL OUR STRENGTH, OFTEN EVEN AT THE PRICE OF REGARDING WISHES AS REAL POSSIBILITIES. AND IN THIS WAY WE ENTERED AS A PARTY THE DAY OF 13 DECEMBER 1982. DESPITE THE STRENGTH OF THOSE WISHES, MARTIAL LAW WAS NO SURPRISE BECAUSE IT HAD BEEN PRECEDED BY THE ADVERSARY'S SHOWING HIS HAND. IT BECAME PAINFFULLY NECESSARY TO REJECT ILLUSIONS.

This was painfully necessary because the postcongress party in its mass -- a party full of understanding for the reinstatement of democratic principles, full of fear lest the past errors be repeated and a party that placed the highest value on the burgeoning social trust -- was inclined, primarily in factories, to protect its new achievements in the hope that the adversary was perhaps merely a distrustful adversary.

How will we now be able to find a way out of the situation? In every basic party organization, in every party body and in every party community? How will we be able to find this way out without resigning and withdrawing from what we have gained by struggle and produced? Will we be able to continue along the road once chosen and consistently implement within the party and the country the pledges we made at the ninth congress? These are not contrived questions. After all, we continue to ask them -- everyone of us is now asking them each day.

There are among us those who were consciously or unconsciously ready to make ideological and political concessions to the adversary and to agree to a party that was "less party-like." Today such people continue to voluntarily surrender their party cards or have been justly asked to do so. But there are also those who, with dogmatic arrogance, labeled whatever took place in our country in those 18 months as "selling socialism down the river." Today they expect that the changes in question will be annulled and that the pledges in question will be torn up. They are now experiencing their "hour of illusions."

Before the extraordinary party congress, the party was faced with a real danger of cracking up internally and of the predominance of disruptive tendencies. Some day in the future -- having gained the necessary distance in time -- historians will appreciate the great toil that helped preserve the party's unity in the spring and summer of 1981. PERHAPS I AM MISTAKEN AND I WILL JOYOUSLY CONFESS TO HAVING BEEN MISTAKEN, BUT I THINK THAT THE BASIC ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF "WHAT NEXT WITH THE PARTY" MUST SOUND: TO AGAIN ASSUME -- SUDDENLY AFTER 6 MONTHS -- ANOTHER BATTLE TO PROTECT UNITY. OR, WHO KNOWS, PERHAPS WE SHOULD COMPLETE THE OTHER BATTLE AND BRING IT TO A FINAL CONCLUSION ON THE ONLY HISTORICALLY POSSIBLE BASIS OF THE NINTH CONGRESS.

One of the paradoxes of our days is that extensive sections of our society do not realize that THE COUNTRY'S ENTIRE FUTURE DEPENDS IN THE FINAL RECKONING ON THE PARTY'S ADHERENCE TO THE NINTH CONGRESS' DECISIONS. Which is completely independent of the nature of the experiences that the national fate will still bring us -- no matter how imaginably good or bad the turns this fate will take. We should bear in mind, however, that a lack of such social realization does not diminish the party's responsibility. It rather increases it and makes it more acute.

The martial law decree has suspended the activities of all trade unions, and it is hard to forecast now for how long. However, we should try to look into the future right now -- to look into it with wide-open eyes. All trade unions obtained in the post-August period a new and identical range of rights, which, following long and difficult negotiations, were incorporated in a draft Sejm trade union law. All the trade unions will have to test themselves in using these rights. However, Solidarity's situation is special.

In the real shape in which it functioned up to 12 December, Solidarity has not and cannot have a place for itself in the socialist state system. I consciously say "real shape" because a trade union of a nature that is compatible with Solidarity's statute certainly has such a place. THAT IS WHY WE SHOULD FRAME THE QUESTION DIFFERENTLY: IS IT POSSIBLE AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS WOULD SOLIDARITY FORM ITSELF INTO A TRADE UNION IN LINE WITH ITS OWN STATUTE AND IN LINE WITH THE DRAFT SEJM LAW ON TRADE UNIONS?

From the beginning Solidarity was an internally greatly differentiated organism and remained such an organism. These organisms were and certainly continue to be organisms that are quite different but that carry the same label, except that only some of them were able to loudly express their resolves and endeavors and that some of them wholly dominated the remaining ones, which were not even always conscious of this domination. This state of affairs continued for 18 months, intensifying all the time and without any debates, which had to leave its imprint on the whole issue. The question, therefore, is how deep and enduring this imprint of total negation and distrust is with regard to all the structures of the state, the imprint of suspiciousness vis-a-vis each decision that did not originate with Solidarity, and of a lack of tolerance for each view that was not consecrated by the charisma of Solidarity leaders.

All our people have experienced the shock of the revelation of those leaders' plans. This shock must have been the greatest within Solidarity itself, but it is its members who continue to internally defend themselves against admitting that truth.

This is a gesture of self-defense against admitting to having been obfuscated. I think that the acts of strike terrorism carried out by the irreconcilable political adventurists immediately after martial law was introduced were most instrumental in effecting a sobering-up. It is not a Polish habit to risk the life and limb of thousands in order to protect one's own skin. We are rather closer to the traditions of individual suicidal attitudes.

Molding human emotions freely and with impunity, making use of all the possible lies and half-truths, playing upon national and religious feelings and promoting a sense of power over the laws -- all for 18 months -- was bound to produce deep mental deformations, which are impossible to wipe off as you wipe sweat off your brow, especially in view of the fact that primarily young people were subjected to manipulation. Thousands and thousands of these people got to know for the first time in their lives the taste of self-realization in strikes, protest action, overthrowing factory or voivodship powers and condemning anyone bold enough to oppose.

How to Present Another Myth

However, burying one's head in the sand will produce nothing. IF WE WANT TO SERIOUSLY PONDER THE QUESTION OF WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN TO SOLIDARITY WE MUST COME TO TERMS WITH THE FACT THAT SOLIDARITY AKTIVS IN FACTORIES WILL DETERMINE THE ANSWER. Of course, I do not have in mind the members or sympathizers of various illegal parties in the political opposition, convinced anticommunists or psychopathic wrecks and failures, many of whom found in Solidarity a large measure of compensation for their previous hopeless existence.

I have in mind the people we all knew in every factory: the young engineers and technicians who went overboard because of their sudden power; the factory sociologists who suddenly found themselves exercising power over other people; women clerks who suddenly changed into Joan of Arcs; the truck drivers who struck terror into the hearts of the controllers of travel orders; and the angry young men who took it out joyfully and cruelly on the pominent people in their own backyards. I repeat with the deepest conviction: These people will determine Solidarity's future fates, which is an important, a very important issue for Poland.

Today they are learning a terrible lesson. For their naivete, for being able to analyze their meaning and for excessive ambitions they are now paying with pain, bitterness, a sense of defeat and with common fear as well. It is true that they will have to come to terms with all that by themselves. Themselves, but among others, among all of us. IF THEY ARE ABLE TO SEE THAT THEIR AWAKENED MILITANCY IS NEEDED BY THE MILLIONS AND MILLIONS OF SOLIDARITY MEMBERS AND THE WORKING PEOPLE IN THEIR COMMON AFFAIRS AND CONCERNS; IF THEY ARE ABLE TO BELIEVE THAT A REFORMED ECONOMY OFFERS A GREAT FIELD FOR IMPORTANT TRADE UNION ACITIVITES; AND IF THEY ARE REACHED BY THE ELEMENTARY TRUTH THAT IN SOCIALISM IT IS NECESSARY TO FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM AND NOT AGAINST IT, SOLIDARITY'S FURTHER FATES WILL BE WELL RECORDED IN POLAND'S FATES.

That is why it is necessary -- now as carefully as a month or 3 months ago -- to separate at every step the Solidarity trade union as an embodiment of trade union renaissance in the socialism that has been freed of its irregularities, from the Solidarity trade union as an exponent of antisocialism. Not so long ago everyone who pointed to this second image of Solidarity -- an image that was in existence not only from the beginning, but even "before the beginning" -- gained the label of "hardliner." Would that those who do not want to stop harping on Solidarity's first image are not labeled as "opportunists...." In such a case we would not be able to save anything of what we use to call the workers' Solidarity. What would be left would be another festering myth in Poland's most recent history.

What Battle Should We Assume

THE BATTLE FOR SOLIDARITY HAS NOT ENDED. ANTISOCIALIST POLITICAL OPPOSITION WAS AND WILL BE THE ADVERSARY IN THIS BATTLE.

VARIOUS ATTITUDES THAT APPROVE OF THE BASIC POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OR AT LEAST DO NOT OPPOSE THEM FIND THEIR EMBODIMENT IN THE IDEA OF NATIONAL AGREEMENT TOGETHER WITH THE CONCEPT OF EXPANDING THE SHARE OF VARIOUS SOCIAL FORCES IN EXERCISING POWER AND WITH THE EFFORTS TO DEEPEN DEMOCRACY, ENHANCING THE VALUE OF REPRESENTATIVE BODIES AND EXPANDING THE FORMS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

HOWEVER, THIS IDEA EXCLUDES MOST EMPHATICALLY ANY ATTEMPT TO ALLOW ANTISOCIALIST ORIENTATIONS TO HAVE ANY VOICE AND TO ENGAGE IN ACTION. That is why this idea was attacked with such a zeal by the political rightwing of every shade and that is why this rightwing was no longer able to dodge and had to come out in open confrontation. This was the implacable logic of the development of events.

For years we have been told that there were no adversaries of socialism in Poland, that some "small groups of madmen" were trying from time to time to mimeograph this or that with the help of toy-like printing sets, that the reaction had lost its base ever since the last landowners and factory owners were laid to rest in their family graves and that, altogether, "the people's ideomoral unity" was good for anything. Well, it was not good for everything -- it was no good as far as the true life of the internally differentiated people subjected to the influence of a divided world was concerned.

He who saw the celebrations of 11 November last year in Victory Square in Warsaw, he who listened to the speeches made and applauded there, he who understood the entire terrifying meaning of the speeches made during the last meetings of the Solidarity National Commission Presidium and National Commission and he who watched the virulent publications inundating the country in thousands and thousands of copies could not escape the worst possible associations. Despite everything, those in doubt are bound to be convinced by President Reagan's speech of the past few days.

ANTISOCIALIST POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN POLAND IS A FACT. IT IS NECESSARY TO POLITICALLY CRUSH THIS OPPOSITION AT LAST -- THIS TIME REALLY AND FINALLY.

We must at last declare an open ideological and political struggle against anti-Sovietism, which is simply anticommunism. We must declare a genuine ideological and political struggle against Polish nationalism of all shades and nuances, which always degenerates and stunts patriotic feelings. We must wage a profound ideological and political struggle against reformism in all its shapes because it never amounts to repairing socialism, but exclusively to cutting through its roots. It must be a struggle for a true national and international history with all its class conditions -- without trivial primitivisms and pseudo-necessary evasions. It should be a struggle for moral values free from hypocrisy and any concessions, for truly motivated dignity of work and for anti-bourgeois social attitudes.

Such a struggle is necessary precisely in order to effectively paralyze antisocialist opposition by cutting off its opportunities for action and by depriving it of its potential base. It is just as necessary as is the severity of the law toward all the actions assumed by this opposition -- a constant severity unqualified by any seasonal considerations. The kibitzers, of whose opposition in [a time of] offensive there is never a lack, will run away in fright.

THIS MEANS THAT I DO NOT SEE EASY ANSWERS TO THE BURNING QUESTION OF WHAT NEXT, BUT I AM SURE OF ONE THING: THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO MAKE ALLOWANCES FOR THE FACTS WHEN SEARCHING FOR ANSWERS. ALLOWANCES SHOULD BE MADE FOR THE FACT THAT THE PART IS RESPONSIBLE FOR WHATEVER HAPPENS ON POLISH SOIL, THAT THE WORKERS CLASS' MATURE RESOLVE CREATED THE SELF-GOVERNING INDEPENDENCE OF TRADE UNIONISM AND THAT SOCIALISM IS BUILT WITH THE HELP OF A TRUE AND NOT SHAM STRUGGLE. WE SHOULD ALSO MAKE ALLOWANCES FOR MANY OTHER FACTS, THE DISREGARD OF WHICH CANNOT PRODUCE ANYTHING EXCEPT ANOTHER CYCLE OF ERRORS.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON FOREIGN POLICY UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Traditional 'Open' Policy

LD071048 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 7 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] TRYBUNA LUDU writes about Polish foreign policy during the martial law, in an article entitled: "Our Open Policy."

Poland has not changed and will not change either its place on the world's political map or its method of approaching the world's problems. In accordance with Polish tradition we still want to conduct an open foreign policy, writes TRYBUNA LUDU. We do not intend to lock ourselves inside our four walls, to isolate ourselves from the international community. The attitude toward Poland has now become a test of long-term intentions and political responsibility for many ruling and opinion-making circles abroad. Settled and friendly relations in Europe and the world are necessary for all states, the TRYBUNA LUDU article concludes.

More on Foreign Policy

LD071248 Warsaw PAP in English 1133 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan (PAP) -- "There are governments which, while assuring that they wish the Polish nation well, do not shun exerting political pressure and applying economic restrictions aimed against our entire society. For these governments, the Polish issues are only a fragment of a big political game," TRYBUNA LUDU writes today in a commentary headlined "Our Open Policy."

"This pressure is an attempt to destabilize socialist Poland, to set the stage for building up 'the Polish crisis', and to give it an international framework. This is incompatible with the lessons of the past, with the needs of Europe, and with the necessity of preserving moderation in East-West relations.

"Poland still wishes to pursue an open foreign policy, which is in keeping with the (?Polish) tradition. We do not intend to shut ourselves out within our 'four walls' and to isolate ourselves from the international community. Contrary to various insinuations, we wish to continue to share in lively political, economic and cultural contacts with the world around, to develop cooperation with the world in every area as well as good relations with all our partners who also wish this.

"This was confirmed by the course of the meetings which the ambassadors accredited here had in the past few days with the chairman of the Martial Council of National Redemption, Premier Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski and with Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek.

"Poland does not pose a threat to any state and on the same principle it does not agree to her interests being endangered. The sooner the fact is taken into account that the pressures against Poland are a sort of subversive action aimed against European security, the sooner it will be possible to say that a threat of perturbations in East-West relations has been averted," TRYBUNA LUDU says.

'UNIVERSAL DUTY TO WORK' UNDER MARTIAL LAW

LD080650 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Text] TRYBUNA LUDU carries on its front page today a commentary by Andryzej Leszczynski on the social values of the duty to work. This is the latest commentary regarding the decree of the Council of Ministers on the introduction of the universal duty to work during martial law. This duty applies to men aged 18 to 45.

The publicist stresses that the ill-feeling toward the category of persons leading a life without toil and effort stems not from envy but from an understanding of the truth that a life without the aims set by labor is an empty life. Such a life deprived of the hierarchy of material and also spiritual values leads a person astray more often than not and onto winding roads of scheming, dodging and parasitism and leads a person to the dregs of society. These are truths which have been tested not only on our Polish soil. One can say that they are universal truths in our modern civilization.

However, questions are appearing as to whether the decree of the Council of Ministers is in contradiction with international norms and as to whether there is convention which prohibits the foisting of the duty to work onto people. TRYBUNA LUDU points out that such a contradiction does not exist.

WESTERN SUPPORT OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CITED

LD071746 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] The behind-the-scene activities of the U.S. CIA and the West German Federal Intelligence Service [BND] are the subject of an article published by today's TRYBUNA LUDU under the headline: "Diverse Images of Anti-Polish Activities." It has been known for some time that the imperialist intelligence and special services are greatly interested in the activities of anti-socialist and anti-state groups in Poland. They have tried to provide them with inspiration and with finances. They are also interested in the members of these groups residing abroad and in certain emigre centers which have been living off the charity of foreign intelligence services for years.

The aforementioned CIA and BND are in the forefront of these operations. A well-financed network of agents and informents -- enemies of People's Poland and enemies of socialism -- has supplied and continues to supply, according to the reports and internal assessments by the BND, a good deal of political information aabout Poland and about other areas of interest to the intelligence services of the FRG and the United States.

The collaborators of the CIA and BND in anti-Polish activities include, and this is nothing surprising, the subversive U.S. broadcasting station in Munich -- Radio Free Europe. Its director-general Zygmunt Michalowski carries out the directives of his chairman Glen Walker Ferguson who is a highly-placed CIA agent.

RECTORS MAKE DEMANDS: SOLIDARITY, CHURCH SCORED

NC071806 Paris AFP in English 1728 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Paris, 7 Jan (AFP) -- Rectors of Poland's universities are demanding the release of interned teachers and other personnel in negotiations for reopening of these establishments, reliable reports reaching here said today.

The universities were scheduled to reopen for a new term Friday -- but only for postgraduates.

Ordinary students will have to wait until early next month before returning to their studies.

The sources said that the university rectorates were also posing two other demands.

1) A pledge that students will not be sanctioned for their past behavior,

2) Freedom of assembly for the university councils.

Meanwhile the Ministry of Education has abolished the Independent Students Union [NZS], set up at the end of 1980 under the influence of the now-suspended Solidarity movement. Any attempt to revive NZS will be punishable under martial law.

On Solidarity, the sources quoted Warsaw party members as saying that the independent trade union federation had in its 16 months' existence "caused more damage than was suspected."

Even the Branch (former official) unions were said to have been "infected" and negotiations between the authorities and their representatives, with a view to reactivating the unions after the state of siege, are reportedly deadlocked.

Union activists are said to be rejecting any idea of a return to the situation in the past, when they acted as a mere communications channel between the government and the workers.

Warsaw party members are also quoted as describing the Church's attitude as "incomprehensible."

"It (the church) showed great maturity in the early days of the state of siege," said one party chief, "but it has recently displayed unprecedented arrogance."

Solidarity chief Lech Walesa, under house arrest, who had been quoted as saying he was ready to begin talking with the regime, is reportedly still demanding that he should be accompanied by members of the Solidarity Presidium.

Meanwhile Krakow University students belonging to the banned NZS announced here today the establishment of an NZS coordination group with provisional headquarters in Paris.

Aim of the group, they told a press conference, will be two:

1) Organise aid for NZS -- outlawed Tuesday by the Military Council of National Salvation -- and the suspended independent trade union federation Solidarity through collecting food and clothing for those jailed under martial law

2) Mobilise international opinion to put pressure on Poland's military rulers

3) Create an information centre on the situation of jailed NZS activists

4) Help students at present outside Poland and unable to return there.

The Krakow students called on all student unions and university teachers to demand the liberation of those imprisoned and an immediate lifting of the state of siege.

"Boycott contacts with representatives of (Polish military chief General Wojciech) Jaruzelski, of Moscow, and of the Eastern countries," the appeal said. "Stop all scientific, economic, and sporting cooperation with those same representatives."

The Krakow students said that the Polish authorities want to give the impression that the situation in Polish universities is normal. In fact, students were forced to sign a loyalty oath, on pain of being immediately drafted into the army.

Out of 50,000 persons arrested under martial law, they said, between 5,000 and 10,000 were students, and three Warsaw University students had been jailed for three years each for distributing pamphlets.

They added that the fact that the authorities described NZS as "anti-communist" could indicate mass trials of students are in the offing.

GLEMP CRITICIZES OATHS IN EPIPHANY SERMON

NC072134 Paris AFP in English 2125 GMT 7 Jan 82

[By Jacques-Michel Tondre]

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan (AFP) -- Pictures of an Epiphany service conducted by the primate of Poland, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, were shown today on Polish Television, but not his sermon -- in which he deplored that the Episcopate's plea for no bloodshed under the state of siege had fallen on deaf ears.

"The [word indistinct], Mgr Glemp told a packed Warsaw congregation yesterday, "that miners have been killed and other deaths are imputable to the proclamation of martial law fills us with sorrow."

"Thank God," he said, stressing that a Catholic should not meet violence with violence, nor seek vengeance. "More direct confrontations did not occur."

He referred also to loyalty oaths being demanded of some civil servants and industrial workers. The oaths, he said, posed an issue of conscience for the faithful.

"Members of Solidarity," he said, "are being asked to renounce their membership. Many persons are threatened with unemployment."

Statements made under pressure, he went on, "are without validity" -- an implicit encouragement to Catholics to sign the oaths regardless of their conscientious objections.

Mgr Glemp quoted his late predecessor, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, as saying: "It is sometimes more heroic to live for one's country than to die for it."

Mgr Glemp said he had been to the Olszynka Grochowska women's internment centre near Warsaw, where he celebrated mass and heard confession.

"The living conditions of internees are not everywhere of the same level as in the Warsaw region," he said. "Regulations are tough."

He concluded his sermon on a hopeful note. Poland, he said, was not abandoned in "poverty and misery."

"Many people are praying for Poland," he said, and quoted aid to Poland from welfare groups in France and Italy.

The wife of former Italian Christian Democratic Prime Minister Amintore Fanfani, who had come to Warsaw on behalf of an Italian welfare organisation, was in the congregation.

Yesterday also saw the return to Warsaw from the United States of the former spokesman of Solidarity's National Commission, Marek Brunne, who two days before the state of siege was announced left for a science conference in New Orleans.

Answering TV reporters' questions at Warsaw airport, he attacked what he termed the "hysteria" of U.S. comment on Poland and criticised the recent decision of the Polish ambassadors in Washington and Tokyo to seek political asylum in the U.S. -- "at Solidarity's expense."

He said he had several times been in disagreement with the Solidarity leadership and had tabled a letter [word indistinct] after the Solidarity Presidium meeting in Radom last December 3.

The resignation was to have been ratified at the National Commission meeting the following week in Gdansk, which he did not attend.

This part of Mr Brunne's interview was only telecast in the 11 p.m. news. It was cut in the 7:30 p.m. news, which has a wider audience.

PRESSURES MOUNT FOR SOLIDARITY MEMBERS TO RESIGN

NC071540 Paris AFP in English 1527 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Excerpt] Vienna, 7 Jan (AFP) -- Polish members of the independent Solidarity union are coming under increasing pressure to resign from the union, according to several eye-witness reports here.

Pressure was first brought against civil servants, government employees and the press, but authorities were now seeking to strike at the union's industrial heart amid factory workers, reports said.

According to one account, miners in Piast, Silesia, were only allowed back to work after pledging never to strike again and renouncing their Solidarity membership.

Authorities apparently also sought to make use of some Solidarity leaders as witnessed by the recent opening of "talks" between various union "militants", including Solidarity members, and the government. But attempts to coax Solidarity [leader] Lech Walesa to toe the line apparently failed and the Polish press and radio were now attempting to discredit him through a campaign of criticism.

BRAZILIAN REPORTER CITES 'APATHY, RESIGNATION'

PY072222 Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 6 Jan 82 p 12

[JORNAL DO BRASIL correspondent William Waack report on his trip to Warsaw from his base in Bonn through Berlin, Frankfurt am Oder and Poznan by truck in company of a Spanish newspaper EL DIA correspondent during New Year's Day week]

[Text] Warsaw -- Almost a month after the military coup there are no prospects for Poland to return to normality. The armed forces' intervention ended the strikes and imposed order, but the military have not revealed their political plans nor how they intend to solve the economic crisis.

Some of the few assertions that can be made 3 weeks after the coup are, first, that the number of deaths and prisoners and the violence of political repression have not reached the levels reported in the West; second, that the church is willing to seek a way to negotiate a new political model with the government and it is only waiting for a good will gesture from the military authorities.

The Poles' passive resistance is not as strong as expected initially and the Solidarity union was totally smashed by the repressive action which was executed with clockwork precision. The new circumstances along with a situation of rising prices and chronic lack of supplies have caused a shock followed by visible apathy and resignation on the part of the population.

The opinion of the party's high-ranking sources who were consulted in Warsaw is that the military will stay in power for a long time, hoping that repression will stabilize the political situation and the party will legitimize the principal restrictive measures. The possibility of a complete reorganization of the Polish United Workers Party giving the reform-minded faction a central role is not excluded.

Even after the coup, the old disputes between the orthodox and liberal wings of the party continue. The church is undecided as to whether to support the creation of Christian-democratic unions with limits on their actions. These unions would have the government's approval. As for the few leaders of Solidarity who escaped the dragnet, they have so far been unsuccessful in mounting resistance to the regime from their hiding places.

Amid the difficulties in a country practically paralyzed by the lack of communications and submitted to strict restrictions on movement, expression and assembly, the only news that gave reason for joy to opposition members were related to the situation of the prisoners. The church and relatives guarantee that, after some initial difficulties, they are being treated well and are allowed to receive visits from friends. The main dissidents were not subject to physical coercion and they can talk with other prisoners and visitors.

The church does not question, at least officially, the number of deaths (8 so far) and it believes that there are 5,000 prisoners throughout the country. However, there is no concrete information on those who were arrested after the installation of the military regime and who are subject to the martial law. The leader of Solidarity, Lech Walesa, has been visited almost daily by Bishop Dabrowski and by Father Orzulicki who is the spokesman of the Polish episcopate. They are bound by a commitment not to reveal where Walesa is being held under house arrest.

Despite the military authorities' optimistic statements, Western sources in Warsaw guarantee that the country's economic activities have not yet resumed the pre-coup level and that the repression of strikes in the northern and coal mining regions does not mean that production has been resumed. Even among party members who were heard in Warsaw there is a conviction that the Polish workers will only be motivated by some type of concession from the military regime. What that concession would be is not known.

Entering Poland which is under state of war, with a ton of donations was easier than getting past GDR guards. While we were waiting with some diapers at the border, a fierce German officer said:

"Poles do not need this, but food." Meanwhile he submitted each one of the 15 packages to a careful x-ray check. When he was finally convinced that we were carrying only milk, flour, sugar, oil, oranges and the above clothes. he ordered that everything be piled onto the truck and let us continue on our trip.

Polish guards took care of us with sleepy indifference. They did not feel the least concern over the Spaniard, the Brazilian and the Volkswagen truck carrying flashy blue and white signs of the company that rented it. They only wanted to appraise the value of the donations sent to a priest in Warsaw.

Hardly 10 meters past the customs office, the first Polish military patrol stops us. A soldier wants to see our passports:

"Do you have Western cigarettes?" he asks.

We were thinking that after going through its second "normalization" experience, things continue to be more or less as usual in post-coup Poland. At a filling station, an ill-humored employee said that he could only sell gasoline in exchange for official coupons. He ended up accepting dollars for some liters at the local black market price, cheaper than prices in Brazil.

The highway from the GDR border to Warsaw, which is about 500 km long, potholed and partly winding, looked like a skating rink. Ice and snow everywhere, together with several Dutch trucks carrying food, but no tanks or private cars. A nice winter sun made the snow sparkle and gave color to deserted streets and roads. Where is the coup?

It was only when very near Poznan, an important urban and industrial city midway between Warsaw and the border -- stage of workers upr sings in 1956 -- that there were more people around. Plain people, well wrapped up to face the temperature of minus 5 degrees, peasants' carts and bicycles depicted an image which was very different from the Polish image of the 70's. Corners are guarded by pairs of rifle carrying soldiers. There was nothing resembling the arrogant attitude of the troops that staged the coup. The smoke coming out of the chimney of a large industry indicates the existence of at least some kind of activity.

The first machinegun aimed at us was in the upper part of a bridge over a railroad junction, but the soldiers were not close to the gun. They were trying to light a fire in a coal stove next to the sand bags. Though under the state of war, we were only checked once on our way from the GDR border to Warsaw, and that happened when we were just 5 km from downtown Warsaw.

The true military barrier emerged from the fog and the darkness and it instilled great respect. A tank was to the right, and to the left at least 30 soldiers were posted on the edge of the road, stopping all vehicles. Strangely enough, we went through the barrier without even showing our passports, but our surprise was at least as great as that shown by Warsaw residents when we stopped at the first traffic light. All of the passengers on a bus awaiting the traffic light signal clustered at the windows in order to look at us. Somebody asked in a loud voice when we would return and whether we could carry a letter to Germany.

The blue and white van attracts unusual attention even in the sad and poorly lighted streets of Warsaw. Mounds of snow up to 2 meters high are piled along the curbs. Silent crowds stand at bus stops and attentively look at us as we drive by -- especially the soldiers who leisurely stroll casting their eyes on empty shopwindows. The security scheme is impressive and pervasive. All important street crossings are guarded by soldiers, and special patrols set up control points and additional barriers at different times and places.

The soldiers create no problems. It can be noticed that they were not trained for police functions and that they do not like them. They hardly understand the visa stamped on the passport and they are even shy when asking for documents. Their faces light up in smiles when they hear the name of some Polish soccer player, and when they see the van's load they say thanks.

Policemen are different and they exhibit their usual arrogance, especially now that they are dressed in the same gray and blue uniform as the soldiers and are carrying Kalashinikov rifles which they proudly sport while directing the scant traffic. Of the 4 to 5 control points and searches to which we were daily submitted, the worse ones were those conducted by the "militia" (police). What seemed to cause the greatest problem ended up as our best recommendation: the foreign licence plate and the ton of foodstuffs.

"Guard, the oranges will rot if we do not deliver them soon."

The atmosphere of tension, fear and anguish in Warsaw is not only caused by the soldiers and control points on the streets. There is not a phone working in all the country. It is as though this invention were unknown in Poland. Nobody has any reliable news or information and people resort to old conspiratory tricks: Individuals have "to check a point" (show up at a meeting point) just to say that everything is in order, that nothing has happened.

We were wary of looking for a certain source of information we had contacted in previous trips and afraid that he might have been arrested and his apartment kept under surveillance. The list of prisoners was so haphazard that persons potentially dangerous to the regime were not swept up by the wave of repression, while some harmless persons ended up in concentration camps.

"They are all doing fine," said a member of a family of intellectuals who were contacted in previous trips, while expressing surprise at seeing us there. The lady of the house carefully closed the door and turned off the lights to make sure that nobody was spying on her. Then she talked. The only problem is the whereabouts of someone who has disappeared and is presumed to have been arrested in the north or the case of some else who was arrested, then released and is being trailed. Or the problem of a certain lady who managed to locate and visit her husband, but not so her brother.

Nevertheless, 3 weeks after the coup, most of the families of prisoners have been able to contact them and they are being treated well considering the circumstances, an official of the union who was released 2 days after the military takeover reported.

He said: "I was not beaten, food was not bad, and I was not separated from my colleagues. The only bad thing was the sensation of complete powerlessness and the sadness over the fact that we were so easily smashed."

The doors of the prisoners' cells are open and Adam Michnik, one of the brains of the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and archenemy of the regime, every night holds long political discussions with the prison director who calls him "colleague." Another well-known opponent, Jacek Kuron, managed to organize work groups in prison which issue communiques authenticated with seals made by the prisoners. The intellectuals' concentration camp offers the best conditions. Some of them occupy single rooms with their wives. Granting a request, the authorities placed in the same cell the two church-connected opponents who are best known in Poland, Professor Wladislaw Bartoszewicz and journalist Tadeusz Mazowiecki who had been reported dead. His friends had a laugh when they read his obituary in newspapers, including JORNAL DO BRASIL.

That kind of conversation does not take place on the streets. Even less in the queues that are shorter (there is more food on the stores' shelves). It can even be said that political conversations in public have disappeared in Poland. The silent multitudes no longer rush to get the newspapers, which pile up unsold on the news stands. People turn off their television sets as the 1930 newscast comes on the air, thus falling back on old habits. On New Year's Eve the announcer dressed in a uniform presented a report of high symbolic value: the discovery of Solidarity's subversive publications hidden under the wooden cross which served as the altar for the pope's visit to Warsaw 3 years ago.

There is nothing left of the merry and decadent Warsaw of last November when Poles took advantage of the dollar's abrupt rise in the black market to fill the luxury restaurants. Movie houses, theaters and concert halls are closed. The bars, meeting points for political chats, are not operating any more. The few restaurants open for only a few hours, even that in the luxury Victoria Hotel, the only one with a 5-star rating in Poland.

Waiters ask everyone to leave at 2000. At any rate, the customers are mostly journalists who complain over the lack of milk for the morning coffee.

Curfew begins at 2300 and is severely enforced. Whoever is found on the streets is arrested and may choose between paying a heavy fine or shoveling snow to clear the streets. During the curfew's first days, high-heeled ladies were sweeping the sidewalks after being caught leaving hotels after hours. Even prostitutes have disappeared from the scene lately. Anyone can be drafted to forced labor, and students have to sign in and out of university residences and to justify any night spent out of their own room.

In Warsaw, stifled by snow and repression, only one place maintains liveliness and even agitation: the atrium of the building adjacent to the Saint Martin Church at the heart of the marvelous old Warsaw. The episcopate has installed there an office to coordinate material and legal assistance to prisoners. The families meet there, exchange information on the whereabouts and situation of relatives, make a map and take down the schedule for visits to Bieloleka, the best-known detention place in Warsaw that has become synonymous with Siberia or something just as horrible, although conditions for prisoners there are good, according to Father Dembrowski who serves at Saint Martin's Church.

The father said: "Conditions initially were somewhat precarious because not even the prison's director knew about the coup or how he could handle such a quantity of prisoners in a short time. Now we have everything well organized to render charitable assitance, without any political connotation."

Father Dembrowski estimates that there are 450 prisoners in the Warsaw archdiocese, all of them listed and maintaining contact with their relatives. Most of them are intellectuals, professionals or workers who left their regular activities to become officials of the union.

As for the workers who get involved after the declaration of the state of war, things are different. Nobody knows the exact number of those who were arrested or where they are. The military court is submitting them to summary trials by prosecutors who were removed from civilian courts and put in uniforms of reserve officers. However, the church knows that many military judges prefer to transfer to civil courts the cases of disobedience to orders of the Military Council and for inciting strikes. This guarantees more lenient sentences at least.

Fully surrounded by Warsaw, the white and blue truck was about to melt into the city's landscape. Saint Martin's Church needed no more donations or aid for the 450 persons it is helping. What we brought could have been directed toward other charitable ends, but delivering the donations was even harder than bringing it across the border. The Warsaw curia did not regard itself as entitled to receive them. The polite sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth order, who coordinated the assistance to the poorest, could not unload the truck either. The priest in charge was not there.

Return tomorrow, said one of the sisters.

One more day in the sea of rumors of Warsaw, trying to park somewhere and go on foot not to attract attention. When we return to the truck, it looks wonderfully washing and polished. All other vehicles parked next to ours remain dirty, only ours has been washed. A message from the Polish information community?

A character from the Polish juridical branch whom we met in order to deliver to him a message from his daughter who remained in the West, receives us with fine cynicism, defining himself as an "eternal optimist." He gives assurances that the decree imposing martial law is not unconstitutional, and that there is no reason to expect that the military will stay in power for too long.

He adds: The parliament is likely to rapidly give legal status to the main restrictive measures. Then they will return to their barracks.

The man confirms that the turmoil has been less intense than has been reported in the West: Naturally, the army will not go out to the streets as softly as Franciscan fathers giving soup to the poor.

Poles celebrated the end of the year without curfew and with an overconsumption of alcohol, even considering their recognized vodka-drinking capacity. The military do not care about disobedience of the measure banning parties attended by more than 10 people. At one of these parties, in a sophisticated appartment in southern Warsaw, everything ends in a kind of common bitterness, with most of the people regretting that the coup hurt their individual plans for employment or travel to the West. At another little party held by intellectuals, the midnight champagne is marked by cheers for Lech Walesa. On the same night, what is left of Solidarity -- which is acting underground -- released an appeal signed by leader Zbigniew Bujak reaching few circles and making a poor impression. The well written -- with good typewriters -- document circulates from one man to another, but a heavy political resignation is the general attitude, based on the conviction that repression is going to become even stronger, as shown by the mandatory declarations of good ideological conduct and loyalty to the regime by those who want to keep their jobs, resembling the Stalinism of the 50's in Poland.

"The only solution is to wait for the atmosphere to clear up and see what can be reorganized. For the time being any type of political work is impossible," said a dismayed functionary of Solidarity who drove his car ahead of our van to the nuns of the Nazareth order. We felt that it was better not to have any Pole in our van, but there was no need to say so because few people were willing to make contact, take messages from us to other people or to gather information for us in other parts of the city. Fear is strong.

Likeable and helpful, the nuns rapidly unloaded the van. Some of them lifted 50-kilogram sugar bags as though they were pillows. Sister Theresa told us a little about the "grassroots work" of her order and told us that every night they offer food and hot tea to soldiers who shiver on the street in front of the convent.

The nun said: "They do not like what they are doing and go to confession in the church whenever the officers are distracted."

With frightened wide-open eyes, the nuns comment on the horrors and massacres that may have occurred, although they confessed not to have exact information.

A document of the union entitled Communique No 6 circulates mainly among journalists in the lobby of the Victoria Hotel. It reveals the execution of soldiers who refused to carry out orders, the murder of commanders who led repressive operations, clashes between police and army uunits, and the massacre of 14 miners in the south. The official version of the killing of 7 miners -- which is admitted by the government -- is questioned by unionists in the underground. According to the communique, a miner was killed by a tank which ran over him as he went to open the mine's gate and the others were machinegunned for protesting that killing. The church, however, accepts the official version that the police acted in self-defense when they fired on the striking miners.

The paranoia in the lobby of the Victoria Hotel is like a communicable disease. There is suspicion of microphones and television cameras secretely installed everywhere and about receptionists, porters, clerks, maids, waiters, currency peddlers and bystanders -- out-numbering the 16 guests occupying hotel rooms over the year end -- who may be informers. Even the Solidarity communiques are suspected of being planted to discredit the Western press.

The nuns who received our donation offered us hospitality. Food at the convent is better than that at the 5-star Victoria Hotel. Next day Warsaw is wrapped in a freezing fog. It is time to return to the West. The road is now emptier than when we came; it is Sunday and not even truck drivers work. The soldiers are gone from the bridges and the four checkpoints, which are extremely rigorous, are manned by rough-mannered "militia" officers.

On the GDR-Polish border we see worry as we see German guards searching the doors and roof linings of a car bearing a Polish licence plate, looking for who knows what. When our turn comes up, a well-mannered but unsmiling officer gave us a superficial check and gave us the green light to proceed to West Berlin. Before reaching the Friendship Bridge over the Oder River, a Polish soldier stopped us once more to ask for cigarettes.

LE MONDE REPORTS GOVERNMENT POLITICAL MOVES

PM071623 Paris LE MONDE in French 7 Jan 82 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Government Has Started Talks With Trade Union Militants"]

[Excerpts] On Tuesday, 5 January the Polish Government broadcast three reports which confirm its desire to show that the situation is on the way to normalization. First, according to Warsaw Radio, talks have started between the authorities and trade union militants. Second, the universities are to reopen in the first 2 weeks of February. Finally, some internal flights by the LOT airline will resume 8 January -- but travel between regions will be subject to permission -- and the Dutch KLM airline will also be able to make an Amsterdam-Warsaw flight on 8 January.

In addition we have reason to believe that three working groups have been formed. The groups, headed by three party leaders, Mr Olszowksi, Mr Rakowski and Mr Kubiak, will apparently work independently of each other and be given the job of submitting proposals when martial law has been lifted. Mr Kubiak apparently advocated the dissolution of the United Workers Party; the ruling party would take a different name as was the case in Hungary in 1956. In addition it was noted that Mr Rakowski held up Mr Kadar as an example on Tuesday.

In any case there seems no possibility of Solidarity reemerging as such and with that name. The junta is apparently envisaging the formation of an "independent and self-managed" trade union grouping Solidarity's moderate elements and the old Industrial "Branch" Trade Unions.

BRITISH DIPLOMATS ALLOWED TO VISIT GDANSK

LD071936 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1847 GMT 7 Jan 82

[By Tom McMullan, PA diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] London, 7 Jan (PA) -- British consular officials in Poland have been allowed to travel from Warsaw to Gdansk to check on the well-being of British subjects, according to reports out of Warsaw today.

They apparently found the Britons well and unharmed, despite the riots in Gdansk in which two people died after martial law was imposed last month. Solidarity, the independent trade union, was founded in the port.

During the visit on Monday and Tuesday, the officials found the city quiet, but reported that only a part of the shipyard was back to normal.

A reliable contact reported that the shipyard would have difficulty in obtaining supplies from other parts of the country.

The visit was seen as a slight relaxation of the restrictions imposed by the Polish military government on Western diplomats who have been confined to Warsaw's city limits.

Lord Carrington will bear this in mind when he decides whether to impose similar restrictions on Polish diplomats in London.

Reports from journalists still in Warsaw, which reached the West today, suggested the Polish military authorities were nervous about the attitude of students to the military clampdown.

The new university term due to start this week is being delayed. It is understood it will not start before the end of January or perhaps mid-February.

The authorities have dissolved the Independent Students' Union -- NSZ -- and their attitude suggests fear of major student unrest.

It seems they fear the universities could be a springboard for the revival of Solidarity.

Journalists report that a senior official in the Higher Education Ministry, Jerzy Nawrocki, was ousted after martial law was imposed. There have also been signs that the telephone system in Poland is functioning again, at least in parts of the country.

One British manager is said to have been surprised to hear the telephone ring in his office for the first time in three weeks. An official from the Ministry of Foreign Trade informed him that a 24-year-old man had just committed suicide at a building under construction by a British company. The phone then went dead.

Twenty-five Western correspondents still based in Warsaw have asked the Military Council for a relaxation of censorship.

FOREIGN DEBTS, CREDIT SITUATION SCORED

PM241643 Paris LE MONDE in French 20-21 Dec 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Cessation of Payment"]

[Text] The fact that Poland has, for several years, been supported at arms length by the credit of Western banks and states with which it carries on a good half of its foreign trade is not the least paradoxical aspect of the Polish situation.

Immediately after the military coup, the Bank Handlowy (which specializes in relations with foreign countries) presented a request which might seem doubly unusual -- or cynical -- in view of the circumstances in which it was made. Addressing 22 German, American, French, British and other banks, it requested from them an additional credit of $350 million to enable it to pay the debt interest which Poland owes them and which fell due in the last three quarters of this year.

After their initial astonishment, the creditors saw this request as nothing more than confirmation of a fact that they are in a good position to know: the socialist republic of Poland, one of the world's most indebted nations, which owes Western banks and states some $27 billion (half of which will fall due shortly or has already fallen due) has been unable to pay for almost 2 years.

At the end of April the creditor states, including the FRG, France, Britain and the United States, granted particularly generous repayment conditions for some $2.5 billion which should have been repaid to them this year. Following that the banks agreed to open negotiations with Warsaw's representatives on the subject of their own loans due for repayment (totaling $2.4 billion). The agreement, which was also very favorable to Poland, was to be concluded before the end of this month. Its signing will be "postponed."

If Poland openly crashed, the creditor banks would be forced to admit the cancelling of considerable debts in their reports. That would deal a very serious blow to the international financial community which, with the governments' blessing, offered its loans in an extraordinarily ready way.

This external bankruptcy which prompted Warsaw to apply for membership of the IMF is only the reflection of a real internal collapse. Many years of neglect have caused massive inflation, which has resulted in a loss of confidence in the zloty. Although national production has fallen by a good fifth in 2 years the Poles are seeking any means they can of ridding themselves of the (very inadequate) means of payment they have in their pocket in order to acquire absolutely any "real goods."

In vain has Solidarity denounced the new injustices resulting from complete chaos in trade. To remedy the dramatic fall in grain production (which now only satisfies half the needs as against 3/4 a few years ago), it would be necessary to take unpopular measures such as the reduction of livestock raising (meat is already very scarce) in favor of arable farming. There seems to be a deadlock on all sides.

CEAUSESCU GREETS 'ARAFAT ON PLO ANNIVERSARY

AU041232 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Jan 82 p 3

[Text] To Comrade Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

On the "Day of the Palestinian Revolution" we extend warm greetings and best wishes to you, the PLO leadership and all the friendly Palestinian people.

The RCP and the Socialist Republic of Romania consistently act for a global political resolution of the Middle East conflict leading to the establishment of a just and lasting peace based on Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories in 1967, on the solution of the Palestinian problem in accordance with the friendly Palestinian people's right to self-determination and their own state and on guaranteeing the independence, integrity and sovereignty of all states in that stressful area.

To establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East I believe it is necessary now to intensify political and diplomatic efforts aimed at creating a new framework of negotiations by organizing an international conference, with the active participation and under the aegis of the United Nations and with the participation of all sides involved in the conflict, including the PLO, in its capacity as the Palestinian people's single and legitimate representative.

In the spirit of talks recently held in Bucharest, I express the conviction that relations of friendly cooperation and militant solidarity between the RCP, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Romanian people, on the one side, and the PLO and the Palestinian people, on the other, will continue to develop, to our mutual benefit and in the interest of peace, independence, socioeconomic progress and detente in the world.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

DETAILS OF AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE PROVIDED

AU081040 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 8 Jan 82

[Text] Bucharest, 8 Jan (AGERPRES) -- The number of people that carry on activity in agriculture is of 700,000 -- of which 60,000 are highly trained -- and the share of the population employed in this branch of the national economy represents 31 percent of the total economically active population of the country as compared to 74.3 percent in 1950.

Romania, which sets herself to achieve a new agrarian revolution, attaches special importance to the training of necessary workforce besides equipping agriculture with the farm machinery and chemical fertilizers it needs. To this end she has an education system able to train all the necessary cadres: 66 vocational schools, 139 agro-industrial lyceums and 5 higher learning institutes (Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, Iasi, Timisoara and Craiova), as against 81 vocational schools, 5 technical schools and 3 faculties in 1938. Every vear over 2,000 highly trained young people take up work in agriculture.

Measures have been taken for ensuring the stability of labour force in rural localities, for stopping the unjustified exodus to towns, for rejuvenating the workforce in agriculture. An important contribution is made in this respect by the development of a small-scale and processing handicraft industry and of services within the single agro-industrial councils. Likewise, starting the previous year, only the young people that worked or work in agriculture are admitted to agricultural education of all grades while the experts and veterinarians are obliged to live in villages and communes, the state providing optimal living conditions.

NEW PRISTINA UNIVERSITY DISTURBANCE REPORTED

Initial Report

AU071125 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Last night at the Pristina student center, where the Albanian nationalists and irredentists started their demonstrations in March and April, public order and peace were once again disturbed. Before midnight several hundred students whistled and shouted in front of the dormitories, thereby disturbing the sleep of residents of the Pristina district of Ulpijana. As has been previously announced, today the Pristina University action conference of the League of Communists will discuss the political and security situation at that higher school institution.

University Party Meeting Held

AU072057 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] The Presidium of the action conference of the League of Communists of the Kosovo University today discussed the political-security situation at this institution. The session was attended by Sinan Hasani, Nebi Gasi, Drita Dobrosi, Husredin Bakali, Aslan Fazlija and other sociopolitical workers of the province and commune.

At the session it was noted that despite a number of measures that have been taken at the university, the political-security situation is still not stable. The measures that have been undertaken to improve the existing situation have not yet yielded the expected results. One reason for this is because the approach taken to unmask the enemy in certain groups and departments, and in general at realizing the plan and program of activities, was frequently formalistic and not infrequently even opportunistic.

At meetings with students at certain [word indistinct] and departments, nationalistic provocations occurred, [word indistinct] questions were raised and there were other forms of hostile demonstrations. Because of all this, the session noted that an energetic activity must be initiated against all those who disturb public order and peace at the university, and the ideological differentiation at all university departments and student dormitories must be intensified.

Belgrade Radio Comment

AU072035 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Milisav Milic report]

[Excerpt] Last night's anarchic rampage at the Pristina student center, where the demonstrations began in March and April, is another proof that among 4,000 honest and diligent students in the student dormitories there is also a certain number of nationalists and irredentists. This was also confirmed at today's session of the Conference Presidium of the League of Communists at Pristina University. At the session, it was said that one can no longer speak about misled and confused students, but rather about intentional excesses aimed at disrupting normal life and work at the university. For this reason, it was pointed out at the session that nationalists must be identified and they must be refused hospitality at student dormitories.

At Pristina University life is being normalized. However, a great vacuum is felt in the ideopolitical work, and in the cultural, entertainment and sports life. The League of Communists is insufficiently active. The differentiation has not yet been carried out, or more precisely, it is at the very beginning.

Students of Pristina University have still not been acquainted with the political platform on Kosovo. These are only some of the reasons why the awareness of young people, who for a great number of years were exposed to the indoctrination of the ideology of Enver Hoxha's Stalinist Albania and its AWP, is changing very slowly.

How can one explain, for instance, the fact that the 4th year students of the faculty of economics are not familiar with the basic ideas of our sociopolitical and economic system. They do not know what the level of Kosovo's development is, the progress that has been made or what Kosovo strives to achieve. Hence there is also the demand to activate all structures at the university and tell the students more about all values of our revolution, particularly about togetherness, which is not an abstract notion but a reality in which they were born, in which they live and which must be qualitatively promoted.

Earlier Meeting in Urosevac

AU071122 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Dec 81 p 10

[Z. Kostic report]

[Summary] The ideopolitical tasks of the League of Communists of Urosevac on implementing the political platform on Kosovo were discussed at yesterday's session of the communal conference of the League of Communists in Urosevac.

It was stressed that the current political-security situation in the commune is more favorable than before, but that the enemy has not been defeated. The enemy continues to make its presence felt by writing slogans and pamphlets and by carrying out sabotage on a smaller scale. Students of secondary and higher schools are primarily involved in this activity. The slogan "Kosovo -- Republic" stands out in this activity.

Speaking abou the writing of hostile slogans, Milorad Stankovic said similar occurrences were also noticed in the villages of Varos, Nerodimlje, Muzicane, Zaskok and Talinovac and in the Josip Broz Tito secondary school center in Urosevac. Staja Zdravkovic said that the condition of the Urosevac economy is alarming. He also spoke about the illegal appropriation of social property and said that some 1,500 hectares of forest land were usurped by private persons.

"Closing the session, Sinan Sahiti, who was in the chair, said that the strength of over 5,000 communists of Urosevac commune should be the guarantee for successfully implementing the political platform. Speaking about the hostile activity, Sahiti pointed out that the League of Communists and all organized forces had achieved good results in certain circles (an organized enemy group was caught recently), but all forces have not yet been activated."

LCY PRESIDIUM VIEWS PARTY MEMBERSHIP TRENDS

LD071904 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jan (TANJUG) -- A session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium was held in Belgrade today. Issues relating to trends in and the structure of LCY membership in 1980 and the first half of 1981 were discussed. Branko Mikulic read the introductory report.

The discussion emphasized that the number of new party members has significantly increased, particularly since the 10th LCY Congress, the adoption of the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, and the opening up of long-term prospects for developing society on the basis of socialist self-management. Working people and citizens -- especially young people -- from all of our nations and nationalities expressed broad interest and great desire to join the League of Communists during Comrade Tito's illness and after his death.

They were manifesting their love, loyalty and attachment to the personality and work of Comrade Tito as well as their readiness and resolve to uncompromisingly follow Tito's revolutionary path with all working people and citizens in order to build up the system of socialist self-management and defend our country's freedom and independence.

Since the 10th congress, 338,270 workers have been admitted to the League of Communists. However, the social and class composition of the League of Communists is not improving. The mass and frequently unselective acceptance of people from unproductive structures, especially pupils and students, as well as the application of stricter criteria in League of Communists basic organizations both in material production and in the countryside, have had the effect of maintaining the same level of workers' participation in the LCY membership over many years.

Communists' increased role and responsibility in society demand the increased affirmation -- by means of more consistent application of established criteria and more selective acceptance of new members -- of the character of the League of Communists member as a militant, consistent, responsible, exemplary and involved personality in sociopolitical work and in self-management. Criticism and self-criticism must be nurtured even more, both as a means in the struggle to strengthen responsibility and as a means to increase consistency and ideopolitical unity in the League of Communists in the struggle for the socioeconomic and socialist self-management development of society. It is also necessary to carry out ideopolitical differentiation and to free ourselves of inactive and irresponsible members, particularly those who do not act according to the LCY program and policy.

The need to strengthen the League of Communist's social class composition requires that the activity of League of Communists organs and organizations when preparing for the forthcoming congresses and conferences be aimed at an even more consistent and responsible application of established criteria. It also requires accepting more members who are direct producers in associated labor, agricultural workers, women and young people -- especially those young people who are training for production occupations. This will contribute to raising the quality and prestige of League of Communist members, enriching the content of the work of League of Communists basic organizations and equipping them for the most successful possible activity in carrying out the League of Communists' role in society.

Tihomir Vlaskalic, president of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee, acquainted the Presidium with the discussion held at the recent session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee and with the preparations of the conclusions which will be proposed for discussion and adoption at the next session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee.

A decision to change and supplement a previous decision to establish an LCY Central Committee Presidium fund for publishing activity and scientific and research work was adopted. The fund's administrative committee was appointed.

THREE REPUBLICS ABOLISH SOME FOOD SUBSIDIES

Bosnia-Hercegovina

AU071712 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 82 p 12

[F.N. report]

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 Jan -- The first day after the New Year holidays, citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina were greatly surprised when they had to pay 1.8 dinars more for a 1 kilogram of semiwhite bread and 3 dinars for 1 kilogram of dark bread. The price of edible oil increased 9 dinars per liter and that of poultry 12-15 dinars per kilogram. These latest price increases have resulted from the decision of delegates of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, adopted at the last session last year (on 30 December), when they decided to abolish the subsidies for semiwhite and dark bread, edible oil and poultry.

The only subsidy that has been retained is that for fresh milk, amounting to 2 dinars per liter until 30 April this year.

The latest price increases have caused quite a confusion among the traders and consumers because they were not informed in time about the new retail prices of these basic food products.

Croatia

AU071710 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 82 p 12

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Jan (TANJUG) -- With the end of 1981, the subsidies on the retail prices of milk, edible oil and poultry were abolished in Croatia, and thus as of today consumers pay full price for these food products. Thus, 1 liter of consumable milk costs 2 dinars more, 1 liter of edible oil costs 8 dinars more, and 1 kilogram of poultry 12 dinars more than at the end of last year. Milk in plastic packs is sold, depending on the region, at 17 to 18 dinars [presumably for 1 liter], while that in cartons is sold at 18 to 19 dinars. The retail shops sell 1 liter of edible oil in bottles at 56.96 dinars and in PVC packs at 58.46 dinars. One kilogram of "traditional" poultry now costs 77 dinars, when prepared for roasting it costs 85 dinars and prepared for grilling it costs 88 dinars.

According to the assessment of the Assembly chambers of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, that was expressed several times, the policy of subsidies has not passed the test in practice because it obviously stimulated consumption and not production.

Slovenia

AU071716 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jan 82 p 14

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 Jan (TANJUG) -- Subsidies on retail prices of consumable pasteurized milk of 2 dinars per liter, poultry of 8 dinars per kilogram, and edible oil of 8 dinars per liter were in force in Slovenia until the end of last year. These subsidies were in effect according to a decision of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia until the end of last year. According to a report of the Republican Committee for Information, as of 1 January 1982 the Executive Council, in accordance with the resolution on the social plan of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia for 1982 which states that this year the volume of subsidies on basic food products will be curtailed, extended the subsidy only for pasteurized consumable milk until the end of June. For this reason, just as in some other republics, the retail prices of edible oil increased 8 dinars per liter and of poultry 8 dinars per kilogram.

Criticism by Trade Union

LD071754 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jan (TANJUG) -- The costs of living in Yugoslavia last year (December 1981 as compared to December 1980) rose by 36.2 percent, the Federal Bureau of Statistics announced today. In the same period, retail prices went up by 39.3 percent.

The curbing of price rises and reducing of the inflation rate will be the priority tasks of Yugoslavia's economic policy this year. The policy envisages the inflation rate in 1982 not to exceed 15 percent.

Some 10 days before the end of 1981, the Yugoslav Government temporarily froze all prices in the country. However, the prices of some staple foods -- bread, milk, edible oil and poultry meat -- went up in some parts of the country a few days ago.

Although the producer prices of these staples have not been increased, their retail prices have gone up because some republics and provinces decided to stop budget subsidies for these products.

The Yugoslav trade union organization yesterday sharply criticized this move saying it was a blow to the living standard of workers. The trade union estimates that the higher prices of these products will increase the cost of living by 3 or 4 percent at the beginning of the year. A trade union representative said the organization would urge at least a partial maintenance of the subsidies and their re-introduction in case the ceiling determined for rises in prices and cost of living is not observed. The rise in cost of living in Yugoslavia this year is envisaged not to exceed 17 percent.

NIN SPECULATES ON DEATH OF ALBANIA'S SHEHU

AU071702 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No. 1618 3 Jan 82 pp 52-53

[Bosko Jaksic article: "Albania: 'Secret Supper' in Tirana"]

[Excerpts] During four decades, Mehmet Shehu was for Enver Hoxha what Saint Peter was for Christ, Suslov or Skryabin for Stalin, Rautu for Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Chervenko for Dimitrov and Kliszko for Gomulka. But in the night from 17 to 18 December, a great gap appeared between the 74-year old Albanian leader and the numerous apparatchiks of lower ranks and levels. The double-headed eagle of the national coat of arms was left without one of the heads. Suicide? Why? Under what circumstances?

Now it is already known quite reliably: in the evening of 17 December all (and virtually the only) limousines of Tirana were assembled in central Tirana. And so were those arriving in them, members of the AWP Central Committee. During the night after that meeting -- a plenum of the Central Committee or of the inner leadership, the agenda of which is still a matter of conjecture -- Mehmet Shehu commited suicide. But there is speculation that at that meeting Shehu pulled a revolver on Enver Hoxha and that he was killed on the spot. It is still impossible to verify this speculation.

Did Mehmet Shehu sentence himself or was his funeral organized a day before his physical death?

It is known that since the time of his military studies at the Moscow Voroshilov Academy, he never went anywhere without his pistol. "We do not know what awaits us tomorrow," he said to a Western ambassador in Tirana immediately before his death, explaining why he and his companion carried pistols. Those who are well informed about Shehu and the Albanian situation claim that he even went to bed with his revolver with the safety catch released even though -- or perhaps precisely because -- his residence, together with the residences of other leaders, is located in the closely guarded "Forbidden City" of Tirana. We cannot reliably say -- but there are those who do -- whether any shots were fired there in the night from 17 to 18 December.

Difficult Dilemmas

But at the moment, it is not of decisive importance whether what is involved is a suicide or a liquidation (which is assumed by many on the basis of the experiences of the past internal settlings of accounts in Albania). The fact is that the death could not have taken place without some difficult dilemmas either on the part of Mehmet Shehu or on the part of the "other side."

For decades, Albania existed by relying on strong support from Italy, Yugoslavia, the USSR, and China. Following the break with Beijing, the last in that sequence, the Stalinist-sectarian policy was supplemented by yet another "no" -- that is, "no" to Soviet revisionism and social imperialism; "no" to American imperialism; "no" to the Yugoslav revisionism and Eurocommunism; and "no" to the Chinese counterrevolution.

All ties with the world were broken. The self-imposed isolation became complete. All these voids and severed umbilical cords had to be replaced by Albania's own nationalism. In time the extreme nationalism began to fall more and more into its own contradictions. The Kosovo events and the objective defeat of the resurrected idea of "Greater Albania" undoubtedly continue to be of decisive importance in Albanian internal developments.

In recent months, more has been heard about some "indications" of Albania's opening primarily toward some EEC member countries: the FRG, Britain and Italy. The name of Mehmet Shehu has been often mentioned in connection with these tendencies. A new heresy for the puritans of "the only true world socialism?"

Vietnamese "Mail a Gesture"

Following the (suicide) killing of Mehmet Shehu, an event of undoubted political importance for future internal trends in Albania, it seems more and more that the "only model" based on the Stalinist concept has reached a stage at which it is beginning to internally deny itself. No matter what has happened with Shehu, the man who, at the famous party conference in Tirana in 1957, rescued Enver Hoxha, with the assistance of the USSR, from critics within the AWP, the impression is that the boil has been lanced.

If -- and this seems a logical assumption -- at that so far mysterious meeting on 17 December Mehmet Shehu proposed an alternative or turn, then perhaps the price he had to pay was his "suicide in a state of nervous disorder" during the night that followed. In other words, Enver Hoxha refused to change even a dot of the system that he had patiently built with his tyranny during decades. In this event, then the hidden discontent caused by the Albanian system and the country's political and economic position in the world will intensify together with all the dangers that are naturally inherent in that. It is possible to find the first preliminary indications that this is so in Mehmet Shehu's speech at the recent Eighth AWP Congress (Albania as a part of "the Balkans and the world").

Simultaneously with the indications of Albania's bashful opening toward the world, the observers of that same eighth congress did not fail to notice the presence of the Vietnamese delegation. Although the Vietnamese left the hall during Enver Hoxha's attack on the USSR (only to return later), many interpreted their very arrival in Tirana as an attempt at an indirect "mailing of a gesture" from Moscow. After all, only a month earlier the Kremlin repeated its invitation to Albania to resume diplomatic relations, and Albania's resignation from the Warsaw Pact has been never formally legalized in Moscow. The Albanian-Bulgarian treaty of friendship and cooperation is still in effect.

BORBA ON 'VERIFICATION' PROCESS IN POLISH PARTY

AU071451 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 82 pp 1, 5

[Lazar Martinovic report]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 4 Jan -- As could be expected after the initial shock caused by the introduction of martial law and the internment and arrests of thousands of extremists, a process of re-examining the attitudes and behavior both of individuals and entire social groups has now been set in motion.

What is involved is a process of verifying the body of members in the individual organizations, including the PZPR, institutions, academic communities, information media and certain intellectual communities. The state and the economic organizations have not been spared in this connection.

It is officially denied that any purges are involved and yet what is involved is the removal of individuals who, by the current criteria, were politically engaged on the sides that are now condemned for having the drastic measures.

Seething

It seems that the greatest seething in this respect is taking place in the party. Here and there it has even been officially announced, without providing any precise data, that many PZPR members are turning in their party membership cards. It has been even stated in a television discussion that the party is losing its experienced and tested cadres. No information is available about the reasons for these actions but it is believed that the following two basic motives are involved in this connection: a disillusionment because of the introduction of martial law, and a feeling that the party has irreversibly lost its position in society as well as the confidence of society.

At this time even the top party leadership admits that it has no contact with the grass roots. As Politburo member Barcikowski has said, at this time the party is relying on its aktivs but they do not represent the entire party. At this time there is doubt that the party can become engaged as a united political movement and wage the struggle to implement the principles of socialist renewal. On the other hand it is admitted that at present there are also no objective conditions for that because, as it is said, the party must also live by the rules imposed by martial law.

All this is becoming sufficient reason for many to return their party membership cards. And at the same time, there are indications that a very strict verification will be carried out among those who remain.

There is no doubt that a re-examination of communists is in progress and that in this connection it is not only a question of affiliation with or activity within the suspended Solidarity organization but also a question of attitude to the introduction of martial law and all its consequences. It is admitted that some entire organizations have been dissolved.

It is discretely announced that the party is gradually cleansing itself. It is especially emphasized that several hundreds of its members who had occupied various leading positions in state and economic apparatus until 13 December have been removed.

What is known among journalistic circles and not officially denied are purges in the individual editorial offices. Nearly half of the old journalistic personnel of KURIER POLSKI, organ of the Democratic Party, have been removed prior to resumption of publication. Some of the journalists refused to sign a certain declaration and others were not even asked to sign it. Similar things are also happening in the editorial offices of other newspapers which are not being published at this time.

Declarations of views and attitudes have become necessary in various other communities also. People are experiencing quite difficult dramas when they face a dilemma between their political views or existence. As a matter of fact, it is known that the loss of a job in some of the intellectual activities involves the threat of losing the right to find another similar assignment.

Some other things also are at the center of attention of the Polish public. The proposed new prices of food products and energy have caused the greatest excitement. They have been allegedly submitted to public discussion until 15 January but it is believed that the whole matter has already been decided. There are no objective conditions for any real consultations with society because certain mechanisms for that do not exist at this time.

The projected new prices have caused great excitement because it is believed that the people will not be able to afford them, but at present there is no way to resist them.

There is increasingly great interest in the attitude of Lech Walesa. Less and less is heard about him but the rumors that the authorities have tried to open some talks with him have not been denied. It has been learned that he is not rejecting the talks but is demanding that all members of the Solidarity leadership must participate in any negotiations with the authorities together with him. However, as is known, a majority of members of that leadership have been interned.

What is more and more noticed by the public and what the authorities have failed to effectively suppress is the illegal organization of some forms of activity of Solidarity. The fact is that various leaflets, information bulletins and other publications which, it is true, are not calling for active resistance but are informing the citizenry that the organizations of that trade union are still active, are appearing more and more frequently.

All this provides evidence that, under the conditions of martial law with its maximum restrictions, society is not ready to fall into a state of complete demobilization.

DRAGOSAVAC SENDS NATIONAL DAY CABLE TO CASTRO

AU071714 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jan 82 p 7

[Text] Belgrade -- On the occasion of the National Day of the Republic of Cuba, Dr Dusan Dragosavac, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has sent greetings to Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, expressing best wishes for new successes in the socialist building of the country and for the further prosperity of the friendly people of Cuba.

The message of greetings expressed solidarity with the people of Cuba in their struggle for preserving and consolidating the independence of their nonaligned and socialist country. The greetings message also stresses the conviction that the relations and cooperation between the LCY and the Communist Party of Cuba, and between the SFRY and the Republic of Cuba, will continue to develop successfully in the interest of our peoples, the strengthening of the Nonaligned Movement, peace, social progress and socialism in the world.

DJURANOVIC REVIEWS LOCAL ECONONY IN BAR, KOTOR

LD071622 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1312 GMT 7 Jan 82

[Text] BAR, 7 Jan (TANJUG) -- The great results of renewal and reconstruction of Bar following the catastrophic earthquake demonstrate the responsibility of the working people of Montenegro toward working people and citizens of our entire country, who have in solidarity renounced a considerable share of their income to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake in Montenegro. This was underlined today by Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Coucil [FEC], at a meeting with socio-political representatives of Bar municipality, who briefed him on the course of renewal in the region.

The FEC president stressed that the solidarity funds for reconstruction must be used in the most rational fashion, bearing in mind not only their nature, but also the topical tasks and goals of the Yugoslav economy as a whole.

Blazo Orlandic, president of the Bar Municipal Assembly, informed Veselin Djuranovic that in the Bar social sector 1200 apartments had been built or reconstructed to replace apartments destroyed or damaged in the earthquake, and that 700 new apartments had been built. The reconstruction of Bar harbor, which suffered greatly in the catastrophic earthquake, is progressing according to plan. About 80 percent of the works on renewal and construction of port capacities will be completed this year. By the end of 1985 Bar harbor should be capable of handling 5 million tons of goods per annum.

Veselin Djuranovic asked about the amount of freight handled through Bar port. Port Director Svetozar Vuletic emphasized here that the port equipment is of the most modern type, but that the quality of the port services depends not only on this collective, but on the railway as well, which, however, is not completely able to take the goods properly.

Touching on the development programs of economic organizations in Bar, the FEC president said that all projects, not only in this municipality but in the republic as a whole, should be reexamined from the point of view of the extent to which they increase our economy's exports. Not a single developmental and business step should be made which might in any way threaten the balance of payments position of Montenegro or the country as a whole.

During his visit to Kotor Veselin Djuranovic, accompanied by Momcilo Cemovic, president of the Montenegro Executive Council, inspected the ball-bearing industry. In conversation with Jugooceanija representatives, Djuranovic asked about topical business problems of the economy there, and about its opportunities for gaining greater foreign currency income. Emphasis was also laid on the problem of getting shipping cadres. It was stated that Jugooceanija's foreign currency expenditure is large, but that those benefitting from shipping services are unwilling to bear their share of those costs.

Marko Lazarevic, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Kotor Municipal Assembly, briefed Veselin Djuranovic on the business activity of Kotor economic organizations and on their development plans in the period up to 1985.

BILL DRAFTED FOR 1982 OIL, COAL IMPORTS

AU062024 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Dec 81 p 1

[E. Vecovska report]

[Summary] Belgrade, 15 Dec -- According to the proposal of the Federal Executive Council, the foreign currency necessary for importing oil, oil derivatives and coking coal next year will be ensured by law. The Federal Executive Council has already prepared a bill proposing that 10.52 percent of the overall foreign currency income should be allocated for importing these products.

This was stated by Ante Zmijarevic, representative of the Federal Executive Council, in reply to a question asked by delegates at a session of the Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces. The committee discussed the draft resolution on implementing Yugoslavia's development plan in 1982.

It is already known that next year it will be necessary to import 10.1 million tons of oil, 900,000 tons of oil derivatives and 3.4 million tons of coking coal.

BRIEFS

CONTACT WITH PRC -- Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Equality and Independence of Peoples, yesterday visited Wang Bingnan, president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. Views were exchanged on the activities of these two national peace organizations and on their cooperation in the struggle to preserve peace in the world. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 81 p 9 AU]

OIL PRODUCTION -- Zagreb, 21 Dec -- In the first 11 months of this year, the Naftaplin collective of Zagreb produced 2,868,000 tons of oil from domestic oil fields, and plans to produce another 262,000 tons of oil in December. Thus the total oil production will be 3.13 million tons of oil, or 1 percent more than in 1980. Due to a shortage of money for purchasing the necessary drilling equipment for the richest Molve I natural gas field, industry and other consumers will receive this year a total of 1,157,000,000 cubic meters of natural gas instead of 1.4 billion cubic meters as planned, together with a partial import of natural gas. [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 81 p 8 AU]